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S.H 1826

DEDICATED TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

P O P E R Y

AND THE

POPISH QUESTION;

BEING AN EXPOSITION OF THE

POLITICAL AND DOCTRINAL OPINIONS

OF

**MESSRS. O'CONNELL, KEOGH, DROMGOLE,
GANDOLPHY, &c. &c.**

BY THE

REV. GEORGE CROLY, A.M. F.R.L.S.

LONDON;

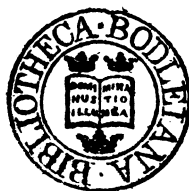
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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,
&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

To your Lordship, as the head of a Ministry which has led the Empire to the height of glory ; and as one of the chief hopes of the nation in her resistance to the rash and dangerous claims of Popery, these pages are dedicated by

Your Lordship's

most obedient and faithful Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

POPERY

AND

THE POPISH QUESTION.

AN eminent member of Government has lately said, that "there is a great inert mass of opinion opposed to Catholic Emancipation."

There can be no doubt, that such is the fact; that the empire contains a vast majority firmly attached to their religious liberties, but who, being loyal on principle, and having no factious and personal objects to pursue, wish, in general, to leave public affairs to take their course, and are, above all things, reluctant to degrade their lofty and sacred cause, by even a seeming appeal to popular passion.

Yet there are periods when this inertness may have all the hazardous results of indifference. And if there ever was a time, when it was essential to throw back that imputation; to give a free, and direct expression of the national

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mind, and by it to support the friends of truth within the walls of Parliament, and baffle its enemies without, ~~that~~ time is come.

We demand to repel and reject the claims of the Papists *, not on the vulgar grounds of a "rivalry of sects," of "keeping down what we have once got down," nor even of constitutional and national pledges to Protestantism; but on the grounds of general good, self-defence, and public necessity.

The noblest attributes of society are True Freedom, the power to every man of doing what he will, saving the injury of others;—and True Religion, the genuine worship of God; which is to be discovered, like all other truths, only by the exercise of the human understanding upon the documents and evidences of the religion.

Popery stands up against the liberty of man. Its civil principles are despotic, its govern-

* We call those men Papists, because they have no right to any other name. It is absurd to call Popery, Catholic, when its supremacy is disowned by not merely the whole Protestant world, but by those who approach the nearest to its own doctrine; by the Greek Church, by the Syrian, the Georgian, the Armenian, the Christians of Palestine, almost the whole of Lesser Asia, the Indian Christians, &c.; all of whom reject the Pope.

ment is a despotism, it has been found habitually connected with despotic governments. In religion, it shuts Scripture upon the people; it loads them with a yoke of ceremonies, contrary to the spirit and command of Scripture; it throws down the laity at the foot of the Priest; it claims a haughty and unlimited dominion over every other faith; and it urges this monstrous claim by intolerance and sanguinary persecution.

Rome, at this hour, looks upon every Protestant state as a *rebel*, left loose only till she can have the power of fierce coercion. For England, as the great offender, the very chief of the revolt, there is a black and consummate reserve of retribution.

We come to the Popish question of the day.

The English are certainly a generous people, and, with the usual fate of the generous, easily cajoled. There is no spot on earth where an empiric, and, of all the trade, a political empiric, whether stationary or itinerant, volunteer or stipendiary, can fatten to a larger size. The English love liberty, and hate slavery, and those words, in the mouth of an orator of whatever dimensions, are irresistible. Mr. O'Connell is certainly an able artist in these things. No man is more dextrous in disco-

vering the true soft material to work into the shape of sympathy; and when he is fully warmed into his tavern tale of the "six hundred years of Ireland's beggary and chains," when he forbids the women of his country to bring forth males, lest they should be found fettered in the cradle; and obtests the vengeance of his three hundred and sixty-five saints against the remorseless and indescribable tyranny which, while it gives liberty of worship, person, and property, yet withholds from his compatriots silk gowns, Lord Mayor's coaches, and the other common and indispensable rights of human nature; he enjoys the triumph of his trade.

But if, when this storm of eloquence has drawn off, and the man stands no longer before them, magnified through his haze of national sorrow,

"Tears in his eyes, distraction in his aspect,
A broken voice, and his whole function suiting
With forms to his conceit.—And all for nothing!"

A sober enquirer should dare to ask, in that region of free discussion, what hindrance lies between the Papist and his full enjoyment of Protestant privilege; what rough and towering barrier rises between the luxurious possessor and the heroic and formidable outcast? Might

he not be surprised to hear, that the single condition is that of paying the common allegiance of the realm to the King. The oath of supremacy is the general demand of the constitution. The Papist refuses this oath (which every other subject takes,) and demands the unconditional surrender of the last security of the rights and lives of Protestantism. And he refuses this allegiance to his King, while he offers it to a foreigner, and that foreigner elected to his throne by the influence of foreign potentates, who may be our enemies at any hour; himself the ancient disturber of England, and bound by the severest bonds of his arrogant and un-scriptural faith, to *extirpate* our religion, though it were *in our ashes*!

These things open our eyes to the orator's history of grievance. We begin to remember that this clamorous pathos is fabricated of the regular stock figures of mob eloquence; we see the sleek and pinguid prosperity of this professional man of famine and chains, and are comforted; we refuse the cup of blandishments of this Circe in a wig and gown, and

“*Risu solvantur tabulae.*”

But the Papist offers civil allegiance to the

Crown,—a thin subterfuge. Civil allegiance is a dream, where spiritual allegiance is not bound up with it; and, above all, where that higher allegiance is given to the declared enemy of our religion. Are we to hear that Papal jurisdiction is only a matter of tonsures and vestments? The spiritual allegiance of the Papist usurps and commands the whole moral action, and what is this, but the whole mental and bodily power of the man; it demands, by confession and the ceremonial of the Church, a knowledge of every man's secret impulses, and an interference with his conduct; it demands a thorough and unceasing submission to the Papal laws; and the Pope, with a council, or without a council, may make what laws he will.

The following is the oath taken by every Papist bishop.

“ I from this time forward will be faithful and obedient to my Lord the Pope, and to his successors.

“ The counsels with which they trust me I will not *disclose* to *any man*! to the hurt of the Pope or his successors.

“ I will assist to retain the Popedom and the *royalties* of St. Peter *against all men*!

“ I will carefully *preserve, defend, and pro-*

note, the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Pope!

“ I will not be in any council, dead, or treaty, in which *any thing* prejudicial to the person, *right, or power*, of the Pope is contrived; and if I shall know any such things treated of by *any whomsoever*! I will, to the utmost of my power, hinder them, and, with all possible speed, *signify* them to the Pope!

“ I will, to the utmost of my power, observe the Pope's commands, and *make others observe* them!”

Here is the plain language of a paramount obedience. What could be said for the loyalty of the British subject, who would take such an oath to any other potentate? To a king of France! Or what must be the result, should circumstances compel a British king to make war upon the Pope, or upon any power in whose fortunes the Popedom took a decided interest? Here is established a *secret correspondence*; a bond of *secrecy* as to matters communicated, every one of which might be treasonable; and a solemn pledge to *preserve and defend*, not simply the Popish ceremonial and authority in matters of doctrine, but the *Popedom and royalties* of St. Peter against *all men*, including of course the king of the realm.

The whole being an old compendious system for the use of revolt, when the Pope, who may be a slave, or a fool, or a criminal, shall summon his *subjects* in the British empire. Or is our world of vicissitude and conflict, that is scarcely yet green after the trampling of war, secure that revolt shall never come, and come in a still mightier array of human passions and powers, to leave on it still deeper footsteps of carnage and sorrow. Even this trial may not be far from our day. If there be truth in prophecy, it is foretold, past as the possibility of religious war seems to be, that a conflict shall arise, in which Religion, false and true, shall be the very principle of the struggle; in which it shall show, for the first time and the last, the whole tremendous depth of its power upon the mind of man; and by the collision shake, perhaps subvert, the social fabric of the world!

The Pope at his consecration swears to observe "*every tittle* of the general councils, including those of Lateran, Constance, Trent, &c., to preach the faith as delivered by them, and to defend them to *blood*."

The councils of Lateran and Constance are remarkable. That of Constance, assembled in 1414, for the curious purpose of determining

which of the three rival infallibles*, Benedict XIII., Gregory XII., and John XXIII., was the true infallible;—was that by which Huss, in 1415, and Jerome of Prague, in 1416, were burned alive;—and by which the writings and bones of Wickliffe were ordered to be committed to the flames! The council of Lateran ordains that the goods of heretics shall be *confiscated* †; that their kings and lords may *make slaves* of them ‡, and that any receiver or defender of them shall be *excommunicated* §, with all the inhuman and horrid penalties annexed to this cutting off from man.

They further ordain that “if any temporal lord shall not, on the requisition of the Church,

* The Papists, since the ridicule thrown on Papal infallibility, say that a Pope and a council make up infallibility; But they allow that an ordinance of the Pope, unless protested against in a council, is to be taken as the rule of the infallible Church. The Pope calls the council, and dissolves it at his pleasure. So his will is the law after all.

† Bona ejusmodi damnatorum (scilicet hæreticorum) si Laici fuerint, confiscantur. 3 Concil. Later. torn. ii. p. 148.

‡ Confiscantur earum bona, et liberum sit principibus ejusmodi homines (hereticos) subicere servituti. Lat. 3 C. 27.

§ 4 Conc. Lat. C. 3.

purge his territories from heretics, he shall be *excommunicated*, and, after a year's impenitence, his subjects shall be *discharged* by the Pope from their *obedience*, and his territories be given to Catholics, who having *exterminated the heretics*, shall possess it without contradiction."

The Council of Constance * commands that temporal lords shall, on "the requisition of inquisitors, archbishops, bishops, &c. seize heretics, and throw them into chains, until the Church shall pass sentence upon them."

It has been alleged in palliation of this monstrous code, that England has old atrocious laws, the legacy of an unenlightened age. But with us these laws are never executed, though there is nothing to restrain our execution of them; they have almost sunk into oblivion; and they never start up from it but to be extinguished.

In Rome the "Councils" are the common learning of the priesthood; the successive Popes swear to observe them to the least word; and though they now have not the power to

* *Sub arcta et diligenti custodia, ne fugiant, ponendo eos etiam compedibus et manicis ferreis, teneant, donec eorum negatium per ecclesiae judicium terminetur. Conc. Const. Sess. 45.*

execute those iniquitous laws through Europe, they have never abolished a word of them, with all the intelligence of Europe denouncing their atrocity.

All Protestants are heretics according to, not simply those ancient laws, but according to the public tenets of the present hour. Thus saith the Papist catechism, by Dr. James Butler, “ Revised, enlarged, *approved* and *recommended* by the FOUR ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS OF IRELAND, as a general catechism for the kingdom !

Q. Where are true Christians to be found ?

A. Only in the true Church.

Q. How do you call the true Church ?

A. The holy Catholic Church.

Q. Is there any other true Church besides the holy Catholic Church ?

A. No. As there is but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, there is but one true Church.

Q. Are all obliged to be of the true Church ?

A. Yes ; no one *can be saved out of it !*”

This is sufficiently exclusive ; now comes the definition under which all Protestants are classed as heretics, and consigned to eternal conflagration.

Q. Which are the marks or signs of the true Church.

A. The true Church is one, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolical.

Q. How is the Church Catholic or Universal?

A. Because it has subsisted in every age, and is to last to the end of time, and will be spread through all nations.

Q. Why do we call the Church Roman?

A. Because the visible head of the Church is bishop of Rome, and because St. Peter and his successors fixed their see in Rome.

Q. Who is the visible head of the Church?

A. The Pope, who is CHRIST'S VICAR on earth, and SUPREME visible head of the Church!

And this is the doctrine with which the Papists of Ireland are inoculated in the cradle; to spread into intolerance and hatred of their fellow subjects. The man who does not confess the Pope to be the head of Christ's Church, and Popery to be the true faith, is put altogether out of the pale of salvation. And in what ferocity would the believers in this dreadful doctrine legislate for us, if, in our blindness and folly, they were suffered to have the power! In what spirit of evil would men legislate for

those, whom they declared to be damned ! or capable of salvation only by being dragged into the Church of Rome !

The oath of the priest declares,

“ Ye receive and confess all things delivered, defined, and confessed by the sacred canons, and general councils, and especially the holy Council of Trent ; and withal condemn, reject, and ACCUSE all things contrary thereto, and ALL HERESIES whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and accursed by the Church.”

“ This true Catholic faith, OUT OF WHICH NO MAN CAN BE SAVED ! which at this present time I voluntarily profess and truly hold, I promise, vow, and swear, with God’s help, that I will retain and confess whole and inviolate to the last breath of my life ; and will take care, as far as in me lies, shall be holden, taught, and preached by all that are under me, and within my care and tuition—So help me God,” (12th Art. Pope Pius’s Creed.)

This cursing of every belief but its own is so deeply interwoven with Popery, that it forms a portion of all its obligations. In the consecration of a bishop, the consecrator asks him,

“ Q. Believest thou that the Holy Catholic

and Apostolic Church is the *one* true Church, in which the *one true* baptism is given, and the *true* remission of sins?

A. I believe.

Q. Moreover, dost thou ACCURSE every heresy, which lifteth itself up against the Holy Catholic Church?

A. I ACCURSE them."

This is the consecration service used in Ireland at this hour: and thus it atrociously asserts by direct inference, that the Protestant Church is a lie, that its baptism is invalid, and that its believers can have no remission of sins!

The Catechismus Romanus, (Edit. Rome, 1726,) declares, "That he is called a *heretic*, who *neglecting the authority* of the Church; pertinaciously maintains *suspicious* opinions! It divides the excluded from the Church, and, of course, from the hope of salvation, into three classes, infidels, heretics, and the excommunicated. It is declared of the heretics, in language highly significant, "that they are still within the jurisdiction of the Church, which may try them, punish them, and damn them by anathema *."

* Non negandum tamen, cum in ecclesiæ *potestate* sint, ut qui ab ea in *judicium* vocentur, puniantur et anathemate *damentur*.

Thus, if the Papist tribunal can catch the heretic Protestant, who does not believe that the Pope is God's Vicar on earth, it will, whenever it dare, sentence, and torture, and damn him by order of infallibility !

And this denunciation is the common, undiminished tenet of Popes and Doctors to this day. The late Pope, in his rescript to France, on the subject of toleration, declares that "the *toleration* of other faiths is altogether inadmissible," as contrary to the canons, councils, and Catholic religion, and must be, therefore, utterly rejected by him. He further declares his Church to be that, out of which there can be no hope of salvation, "fuori della quale non vi e speranza di salute!"

The Class Book of the Maynooth students, the future priesthood of Ireland, bears, on its front, the same doctrine, and consigns to eternal flame both the excommunicated and the heretic, "tam illos quos ecclesia e sinu suo ejecit, quam eos qui illam relinquunt." Even at this moment, while the Popish petition is lying on the table of the House of Commons; the Pope, the lord and master of the petitioners, their sole and infallible interpreter of the truth, declares by a public instrument, that the Bible

in our Churches is "THE BIBLE OF THE DEVIL."

What confidence can we have in such men, in their promises of peace, or in their oaths of allegiance! The Pope, when he wrote that rescript, knew, for it requires no depth of scholarship, that the English translation of the Scriptures was a most faithful, sincere, and admirable version; the work of the most distinguished scholars of the day, and endeared to the English people. But it was enough for him and his, to know that it was the work of Protestants, to pronounce it the Work "of the DEVIL!"

And who shall, after this, have the hardihood to talk of conciliation on the part of those men. The guide of the Papist faith pronounces our religion *accursed*, our persons *accursed*, and our Bible *accursed*! Will the Irish Papists dare to tell their Pope that his declaration is a falsehood? And if they will not, what less than madness would it be, to give them the power of doing us evil.

The apparent public disregard of the Popish question, has been argued into a kind of evidence of its popularity. But there is a good deal of management and artifice in this affair.

There is a perfectly understood tactique for urging obnoxious matters through the Legislature. This is, in the technical phrase, the *harrassing system*: a measure is obtruded upon the house for a succession of years, until its very mention is synonymous with nausea and fatigue: The nation sees it constantly overthrown, and, at length, feels but little anxiety about a contest whose defeat has been so long secure: The public journals, feeding upon novelty, shrink from it as an exhausted subject; the habitual orators, half defrauded of their morning honours, disdain to waste their prowess in this dusty and obscure field: the Bill becomes the Riot Act of the House, the sight of it in the official hand throws the multitude into instant fugitation, and the affair is left to the solidly interested on both sides, the ring-leaders, and the police on the Treasury bench.

On this system, defeat has no result; it is calculated upon already. The measure is again brought forward; its partizans have but one business to do, and they drive it on with all the helps of everchanging contingency, and all their growing power upon the weakness and excitability of the general mind; ministers have a thousand businesses on their hands, and they are glad to get rid, tolerably, of any part of

their burthen. Let there be a mutiny in the camp; and the mischief is irreparably done.

It is true that some of the men, to whose counsels we should have looked for defence and wisdom in this trial of the state, have turned away from the homage with which England loves to reward her champions. But how far are we to understand that this reluctance is sincere, or that they are not acting under the bitter consciousness of obligations taken upon them in an unguarded time, and which cling to them with an envenomed and mortal tenacity.

When, in the vicissitudes of political life, a public man is thrown into the ranks of opposition, he must take upon himself its whole character, he must be clothed in its uniform, he must adopt its discipline for his own. If he have the true spirit of party within him, he will plunge into the whole darkness of the struggle, into the sinister ambition, the fierce and invidious prejudices, the rash, desperate, and unprincipled adventure for power and temptation. The nobler nature will feel the humiliation of such contact; he will stand aloof, and on the first honourable opportunity abjure the standard for ever. But he has served, and he must bear with him the marks of his servitude.

The common pledge of the party is the

Popish question ; to that he must adhere through good report and through evil report, even through the remonstrances of his own vexed spirit, and the most palpable peril of his country. It would be idle to point out what individuals may thus be bound hand and foot ; what distinguished members of the peerage, ennobled for their labours in the cause of England and mankind ; what vigorous and acute mind in the House of Commons, acquainted, perhaps, more than any other living, with the form and malignity of the national danger ; or what splendidly gifted intellectual leader may be flinging away his rich and various accomplishment, his well-earned popularity and his honourable fame—for the hazard of his country. As if the funeral pile of the constitution could, like that of the Roman, be lighted by no other than the most allied and honoured hand !

With such inevitable doubt of the sincerity of its advocates here, even in all the candour and loftiness of the higher rank of the English mind, are we not justified in forming some suspicion of its principles in that hot-bed of obscure chicane and factious turbulence in which the measure was born. Or, are we not fully entitled to pronounce the “ Popish Question ” a thing of utter hollowness and unsoundness,

stirred for mere personal purposes, unsustained by any actual national feeling, unrequired by any public demand; and altogether a sort of joint stock project of a few obscure individuals, conspiring to urge themselves into a paltry notice, and anxious only to make the most of their gambling shares in this airy capital.

How the Popish priesthood may finally stand affected to this project, it must be difficult to decide. If it can aggrandize their sovereign, the Pope; they will embrace it, for to that they are bound. If it go to relax their direct and un-scriptural power over the laity; they will reject it, for to that they are bound. If it tend to promote freedom of thought in Ireland, the knowledge of the Scriptures, or attachment to the Protestant, they will anathematize it, for to that they are bound. Hitherto, they have done nothing: a few giddy and junior ecclesiastics have been allowed to write pamphlets, and defend the miracles of Prince Hohenlohe; brilliant and cheering evidence of their wisdom! But the great body have stood back in a stern and contemptuous reserve; and with folded arms, and wrapped in their pontific fur, have looked on Mr. O'Connell, "ereeping, flying, wading, swimming" through the great chaotic bog of vulgar faction, black with abuse and

toil ; alternately sinking “ ten thousand fathom deep,” and borne up by some accidental blast of popular folly.—In all his labours they have not deigned to honour him with a single hierarchal smile.

It is the opinion of those who have most thoroughly ascertained the feeling of this Irish Popish priesthood, that they regard this “ Emancipation” with indifference, if not with jealousy. They know the personal characters of its advocates ; and the knowledge is probably but ill calculated to promote their respect. But what can they feel for the constitutional privileges of the laity ? Their characteristic, in every land, and most of all in Ireland, is a haughty sentiment of superiority ; *they* have one Sovereign, and one Father, even the Pope ! *they* are a select and sacred body, pure from all connection with the barbarism and lowliness of whatever country they may be placed in ! *they* are members of the great ecclesiastical corporation in whose hand the Kings of the earth are but as reeds !

The bull thundered by Sixtus the Fifth against Henry the Fourth of France, in 1585, thus proclaims to the kneeling world,

“The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the eter-

nal King, EXCELS ALL THE POWER OF EARTHLY KINGS. It passes *uncontroulable sentence upon them all!*"

The famous bull of Pope Pius against Elizabeth thus declares the will of this self-constituted master of all nations.

"He that reigneth on high, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth, hath committed the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, out of which there is NO SALVATION! to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and TO THE ROMAN PONTIFF, successor of St. Peter, to be governed with a PLENITUDE OF POWER.

"This one he hath constituted PRINCE *over all nations and all kingdoms*, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, overturn, plant, and build!"

There is not a Popish priest in Ireland who may not become a Cardinal or a Pope: What distinction can they have in Ireland like this? They have none of those connections, which are a pledge at once to the soil and to the laws. Their dignities come from Rome. Where a man's treasure is, there will his heart be also. They are, in spirit, strangers and Italians; they have seen, in our own day, a turbulent and ambitious priest among themselves made a

Prince of Rome, for an inflammatory publication*, in 1797, on the very eve of the Rebellion. With this bribe before them, with the consciousness that the Popedom looks upon England as the great antagonist, and Ireland as the most devoted auxiliary, they must be irreconcilable to any policy which brings the Protestant and the Papist closer together. If they should change their coldness into zeal in the present cause, it must be from the conviction that it will fix the bonds of Popery more firmly on the neck of the empire. If there should be a prospect of power through violence, there are no men on earth who ought more strenuously to put up the prayer against temptation!

Why this lonely and suspected adventure should have been left to the piety of the Bar, it may be worth a moment to ascertain.

In England, the bar is but one of the professions; in Ireland, it is the profession *par excellence*, and slippery as the path is, it is almost the only one by which a well-bred Irishman will condescend to scramble up to honours. The land swarms with barristers, a formidable counterbalance to St. Patrick's pro-

* See Dr. Hussey's Pastoral Letter.

hibitory blessing. In the sight of this untrivalled armoury of litigation, the Irish are litigious, as naturally as children born in a barrack toss the firelock and follow the drum. But the purses of the Irish are, unfortunately, as light as their hearts ; the Terms are, in the professional phrase, *lean*, and a Lancashire Assize is said to produce as much profitable parchment as the whole four Courts of Ireland. Yet there have been on the Irish bar-book little less than a thousand contemporary names of learned gentlemen proposing to make a livelihood out of the Irish pocket:—as the French chemists proposed to make sugar out of rags, and the philosophers of Laputa extracted sunbeams out of cucumbers.

In this state of things, a man, not determined to starve, must look about him. While the Irish Parliament existed, this work was easier ; in a land where all was party, the simplest way to business at the bar, was notoriety in the House. In that extraordinary subversion of the laws of nature, where even attorneys had bowels for their country, an ardent patriot, waiting till conviction was brought home to his bosom by the generous wisdom of the treasury, was secure of being refreshed by little daily proofs of his country's confidence, in the form most congenial to the professional palm.

But the Parliament, at length, went down to the common place of all corruption; and from that time forth other means must be tried. Some now lay their foundation in the excellence of their tables, and plead by the jurispudent virtues of claret and cookery; others build on alliance, and the daughters of solicitors, in a thriving business, have for years been at a premium; but the most successful, as the boldest of all, are those who, disdaining all slowness and scrupulosity of expedient, heroically turn the flow of their elocution through the Augean stable of aggregate meetings, Catholic Conventions, and mob Parliaments, and convey off the whole rich result to cover the barrenness of their own farm.

If there be a spot on earth where the whole of this factitious Papist bustle is looked on with peculiar scorn, it is in the place where it is most thoroughly known, the place of its birth, the city of Dublin. There the notorious political distortion of its contrivers, the miserable artifices to pack an audience, the paltry system of puffing and placarding themselves into notice, the regular publishing of their own harangues, with their own notes of admiration, the tricks of subscriptions and rents, and the

dubious purposes of their application, render them the common scorn and ridicule.

The general profession look upon it as merely a characteristic expedient to keep up an influx of briefs; The citizens will not waste their time in listening to the same factious foolery repeated a hundred times in the same words; The Government goes quietly through its business of putting down more formidable aggressors; and but for the printers of placards and newspapers, a race of gentlemen who live, like a Bow Street Magistrate, on the pugnacious propensities of mankind, the Popish parliament would have been long since wrapped in the pall of utter oblivion.

Even in its most palmy state, it bore the symptoms of decay. The *facies hippocratica* was on it from its cradle. It was obvious that the story of grievance must soon become stale, and incapable of commotion. The fact justified the physiognomy of this turbulent and short-lived experiment on the credulity of the empire. The boasted Rent had for some weeks been rapidly running down. The English legislature stepped in, and, by a forcible extinction, saved its honour, when it was on the eve of perishing by the course of nature. Like a

diseased felon, it was saved from dying in jail, only by being hanged ! Perhaps this interference was so far unwise ; with the purse would have broken down the faction ; without pay, the whole corps dramatique, the automaton parliament, and the puller of its wires, must have parted company. In fact, the mock Antony had lamented so long over the mock corpse, that the robe, stabbed all over, could not bear a slash or a tear more, and was falling to rags in his very hands.

Yet it is this Rent, which has alarmed England into listening to those pretenders. The English are a financial people ; they make war by finance, they make peace for finance ; some perception of finance enters into every element of English policy ; and when they saw the semblance of their weapon brandished against themselves, they felt a childish and indecent alarm. It is this Rent, for which its whole raisers and receivers are now under the prohibition of the law, that gives the Popish demands a moment's admission into the legislature ; this contemptible contribution, which, with all the puffing and pressing, the haranguing and screwing, the obtestations by the glory of Ireland, and the honour of the party exchequer, has amounted to scarcely more than ten thousand

pounds! a sum that would have scarcely purchased candlesticks for a Popish chapel, or a suit of vestments for the Bishop of Moorfields; that scarcely exceeds what Mr. O'Connell boasts to pick out of Papist litigation with his single hand; a sum not much more than Mr. Emmet's expenditure on a single night's cartridges for his burlesque rebellion; and certainly not enough to equip a body-guard for his Holiness, the Legate, to come.

So much for the advantage of having begun this operation at the proper remoteness from the English eye. It is not in poetry alone that "distance lends enchantment to the view." This system of puffing, placarding, and mob excitement; this purchase of the worst portion of the press; this canvass for contribution; has been tried over and over in London, and has always speedily run dry. Tried again, even with the whole oratoric phantasmagoria of "penal laws," the "clank of chains," and Irishmen roasted whole,—at the back of the browniest of itinerant showmen, even the lowest populace would scarcely be duped into giving their most beggarly donative. The experiment has been actually made, and the ways and means of the whole Irish sensibility of London, have amounted, in one vigorous week, to five

pounds! This comes of knowledge, as often and as justly the parent of contempt as of wonder. What Mr. O'Connell himself, on his travels to London, sees from the top of Highgate, a comet lording it over midnight, and worships, as perplexing monarchs with fear of change; the cunning man of the metropolis knows to be nothing more than a Vauxhall squib, the pasteboard creation of Signora Hengler.

This learned advocate's opinion of the English nation is by no means a dubious matter; presuming that he wishes us to rely upon his own words. He has registered that opinion with a distinctness, if unsuitable to a dextrous politician, yet honourable to his candour as a man. He has openly thus spoken: "So *dishonest* and so *besotted* a people as the English never lived! Yes, they are *dishonest* and *besotted*. As a nation I must say, and I can prove, that they are the *most profligate*, and quite lost in folly! As to English *stupidity*, it is really become *proverbial*. They are ready to sanction *every crime*, or to credit *any delusion*! Let us teach these *drawlers* and *dotards* that they are not to insult us with impunity!" (Speech, June 1813.)

And this is the language of the man who

now comes to bid the people of England admit him and his applauders and associates into the highest faculties and privileges of the Protestant constitution! Was this sentiment delivered in a corner; was it the little private outbreking of his secret mind into the ear of some little desperate conclave; or was it found in his desk, the preamble of a *manifesto*? None of these; it was openly blazoned before that gathering of rabble passions and follies, called an aggregate meeting, that multitude of the vile, the vicious, the rebellious, and the mad; and this too in the midst of a time of the most imminent public peril, of a ferocious war, of public distress, and of menaced insurrection.

What he might have meant by this insult to the character of the English nation at that crisis, we must leave to his conscience to settle with itself. But from this declaration, made in his maturity, with as full knowledge of England as he will ever have, he cannot now escape. He may deny and wind as he will, while he has a point to carry,—he may creep on his belly—but he is detected, and he shall eat of the dust until he dies.

But however he may exult in finding that the English nation are the natural food for imposture, he may yet find that they will not

altogether surrender their understandings, even to the most seductive of the profession.

They have asked ; and it may perplex his dexterity to answer ; why, if the Popish claims be a grand national concern, the Irish, as a nation, have exhibited no concern about them. Why has not the Irish bar stirred ? it contains many very accomplished Papist members ; Why have not the Irish Papist merchants ? they are numerous, and some of them perfectly respectable ; Why have not the Irish Papist aristocracy ? generally educated and opulent men : the whole unfortunately bearing no conceivable comparison to the mass of ignorance, prejudice, and superstition below them, but still capable of furnishing a parliament of ten times the character and capacity of Mr. O'Connell's. Yet of them all, who has come forward to fight, what is proclaimed to be, the grand battle of the Faith ? They leave it all to the holy gallantry of this champion himself ; he bears all the commissions, he is at once the intellect and the arm of this sacred belligerency, colonel, corporal, and commissary, nay, is compelled, agonizing as it is to his natural delicacy, to be his own trumpeter !

In England it is affirmed, that this plurality of duties argues less for the volunteer vigour of

the individual than for the poverty of the *mise en campagne*. One personage, however, has been overlooked, who ought not to be forgotten, that amiable and much injured nobleman, with whom the Papist orators have for a number of years taken such unwarrantable liberties; treating him with as little ceremony as a stage manager does one of his lamplighters; sometimes fixing him in burlesque majesty on the throne of a mob meeting; sometimes commanding him to compose his countenance to sorrow, and walk in their funeral procession of grievances; sometimes openly abusing him; and at other times threatening to strip off his livery, and turn him loose without his wages *.

* This old lord is the true sufferer of the party, whoever may be the saints. His presence at their meetings was looked upon as essential to their hoodwinking the people; he has now and then hesitated, obviously from alarm at their violent and suspicious proceedings; and when this has happened, the whole torrent of rabble insolence has been poured upon him, and he has been hooted out of the room. In other instances, they have compelled him to account for his domestic lapses, before they would suffer him to take the chair. A rumour had gone out, that Lord Fingal had sent a haunch of venison to Mr. Peel, which he, with the insidiousness of an Englishman and a Secretary, had accepted and eaten. For this act of weakness, probably of treachery, his Lordship was ordered to *explain*, before his offended masters, the Board!

But should the stroke of mortality, or the fiat of "the Board," dismiss this ancient noble from an office which a man of sense must have long ago felt as a contemptible drudgery; they are not unprovided with a successor,—a gentleman, who is proclaimed in the register of their proceedings, "THE LINEAL DESCENDANT OF THE LAST MONARCH OF IRELAND!" and also declared by this loyal Board, to be "*much more noble than the royalty which has ennobled others!*"—In short, no blood of an Electress! no son of Brunswick! none of the stock of degraded, alien, and besotted England; but a flourishing scion, of the trunk of Brian Boro'. Fortunate Ireland, that, whatever becomes of its pocket or its principles, whatever leaves the one to the punctilious honesty of a mendicant faction, or the other, to the scriptural illumination of a Papist priesthood, can, in the worst of times, be at no loss for a King!

In this state of things, it is moved that the Popish Parliament pass, by deputation, to the other side of the Channel. The patient is con-

Will it be believed that he actually got up, and proved, that he had never sent venison, nor even wild fowl of any traitorous species whatever, to Mr. Peel. "The story is extant, and written in very choice Italian."

D

sumptive, and it is ordered off for benefit of climate. But of what material is this deputation, this sifting and winnowing of the Popish harvest, this elite of Catholicity, diplomatic and divine! We ask, Where are the heads of the Papist bar, of Papist commerce, or of Papist aristocracy? And, as in the Eastern tale, Echo answers in burlesque replication, "Where?"

Yet, if they have not come, it was certainly from no want of latitude in the invitation. The terms of the vote were, "Lords, Barons, Archbishops, Lawyers, Attorneys, Merchants, Manufacturers, and *Sales-masters!*" and those not one of a species, but one and all,—not in single samples, but in bulk; they were summoned, clean and unclean, not by pairs, nor by sevens, but by thousands and tens of thousands, into the ark of Mr. O'Connell. If his bidding had been obeyed, he might have come to London with a train of half a million of cross bearers, a new Peter the Hermit, to plant his breviary in the New Jerusalem of St. James's.

In the speeches of the party, no solicitation was forgotten, that could whet the "blunted purpose" of this Catholic migration.

To the curious in men and manners, was

held out a voyage to the wonders of London, without the expenditure of a private shilling; to the ambitious and oratorical, a magnificent reception by the chiefs of English radicalism, with liberty of perpetual harangue; to those gifted with more mortal propensities, a vision of the tables of opposition Dukes, and hospitable Charities, to which all the deputies of the faith were to go together! every man being pledged by a solemn previous compact, not to commit the infidelity of enjoying a single good thing, without the fair and bona fide participation thereof by his compatriot envoys, brothers of one discipline and one dish; and magnanimously resolved, as they felt, and would fall together, to feed together:

Yet, the whole appeal to the indigenous passions (*horresco referens*) failed; even this great culinary covenant, this "*pacta conventa*" of the knife and fork failed; the Papist Stentor sent his voice from promontory to promontory, but not a warrior would come forth from ship or strand. The invitation was placarded from Carrickfergus to Cunnamara; it was urged in the full temptation of the Popish newspapers, and stood before the *molliora tempora fandi* of every gentleman capable of reading in the realm. It was read, laughed at, burlesqued,

versified, spurned, every thing but obeyed. All things failed, but the spirit of the great contriver. The highways and hedges, however, might still be beaten up, and the deputation was, at length, fabricated.

It has been now for some time in London; and those who are to be interested by the various face of public amusement, may find the notice of its displays blazoned on post and pillar, beside its rival ambulatory shows; and may cull the flowers of Papist rhetoric among our taverns, at what hour they will, whether in the morning walk through this great arena of the follies and quackeries of man; or at that more congenial hour, when every man's brain is most imaginative, when wit and wisdom are brightened by tavern port; and religious topics are submitted to discussion with a decency, propriety, and clearness, incommunicable to a fasting hour.

The deputation now stands in the public presence, and who compose it? Of the whole *nimbus* of Irish glory, out of the whole cloud of witnesses, stands forth visible but one, Mr. O'Connell. No sage of the law, no bulky "man of argosies," no great Gamaliel of his Church, comes beside him, to share his tavern splendours; even Lord Fingal is heard of no

more. But the "Defender of the faith" is not cast down by those things; he carries the weight of government on a brow, to be daunted neither by desertion nor contradiction. He tells the English that his party has pacified Ireland: this is directly contradicted by the Irish Viceroy! He tells the Irish that he has drawn up the Bill of Emancipation; this is directly contradicted by the men who have drawn it up! he laughs at both. He loves to grapple with difficulties. While here, he forbids his constituents to talk:—while there, he professes to teach them to think. He has now rushed back "to keep Ireland quiet again," and he will return freighted with exactly the same quantity of public confidence which he had brought with him already. We will disclose further;—that no man, on either side of the Irish Channel, would be more embarrassed by the complete success of the Popish question; if, in the infliction of Providence for our national sins and follies, it should be suffered to succeed;—that no man less desires to see rebellion and separation—and that neither lawyer nor demagogue is more justly sensible of the emoluments and honours of a *moderate* degree of public agitation!

When the true conflict shall come, and the

elements of civil convulsion are let loose against each other, this man, and men like him, will sink, and be forgotten. A bolder and loftier race, of more vigorous frame and stronger brain, will start forward to the front of the fray, and walk over the mere professional agitators; or throw them behind to their natural vocation of marching with the baggage, and making what profit they can out of the spoils of the field!

The deputation reaches London. In what form of honourable demand, or decorous and manly entreaty, does this embassy come? In what candid majesty has this procession of the boasted depositories of the religious and civil liberties of Popish Ireland approached the altar of British justice; with what sensitive purity has it avoided the profaner touch; and consecrated its mission to Freedom;

"Ubi templum illi, centumque salæe

Thure calent aræ, sertisque recentibus halant."

The Irish deputation comes as obscurely as an Irish footman, and advertizes itself into fame; plunges at once into the low contrivances of low popularity; bustles about, harangue in hand, from tavern to tavern; stirs up the na-

tional sympathies of St. Giles's, and racks the tenantry for a *rent*; struggles for its pre-eminence of placard on dead walls and condemned houses with Hunt's blacking, the bonassus, and the "favourite great bear from the north pole, allowed by Sir Humphry Davy to be a real quadruped," and last, and lowest of all, does unmeasured homage to the notorious London men of the mob, however they may revile and scorn each other; and licks with equal prostration the feet of Sir Francis Burdett, who abuses Cobbett, and of Cobbett, who thus returns the strain.

"I will knock him (Sir F. Burdett) to pieces, as the man did his wooden god in the fable. I will beat him, and thump him about, and kick him up and down and to and fro; I will strip the calf, I will pluck the jackdaw, I will undress the Crown and Anchor doll, I will give the world a full length portrait of a monster, &c.; I will give the base baronet one more blow; and if he, when he has got that, do not, in a cross-road's grave, seek refuge from the scorn of mankind," &c.—Vol. xxxiv. p. 364.

"Arcades ambo et respondere parati."

What does the use of such instruments argue, but the reckless determination to force an

object that will not bear the light. Will any man be childish enough to presume, that religion has any share in this confederacy; or that the whole boast of conscientious feelings, is not a paltry and contemptible practising upon the legislature.

And this pursuit of vulgar notice is pressed by all the poor contrivances of audience hunting. We have seen at the door of a tavern, "Catholic dinner this day, the Deputation will *positively* attend." So, let all who have ten shillings at command, step in, and see the show. The deputation, of course, attended, and the regular rhetoricians harangued, in pursuance of the bill of the exhibition.

At Exeter Change, a fellow in the dress of a beef-eater stands forth, for the allurements of the living world, with a placard, "The beasts to be seen at feeding time, only half a crown." The placard elevated on the hat of the sans-culotte Hibernian at the tavern door, is a palpable, and, I fear, a deliberate plagiarism from the menagerie!

The Doctrines of Popery.

IN the Parliamentary discussions on the Popish claims, the great points at issue have been sometimes forgotten. Able and subtle minds have been satisfied with chasing each other through the labyrinth of obscure and obsolete records; and to prove or disprove the existence of a statute, or the construction of a treaty, has been all that has been sought by the battle, and all that was obtained by the victory. But there were higher things to be thought of—the native spirit of Popery—the possibility of relying on its pledges to the safety of the Church of England—the infinite peril of introducing a hostile faith into the centre of the great commonwealth of reformed religion, and of introducing it with the bribe of power in its hands for all the vagrant passions and guilty ambition of the empire! The doctrines of Popery seem to have been, by common consent, put out of the disquisition.

Heaven forbid, and I say it in all sincerity, that we should judge any man for his sincere belief; or imbibe so much of that faith which we abjure, as to attempt conviction by persecution; but, if the declared purpose of Popery be *proselytism!* we must look to the nature of

that doctrine which we may help to make tempting in the eyes of man; we must question the spirit, whether it be of God or Mammon; we must, as men and Christians, examine whether we can be justified before God in investing this hazardous and hostile belief with power!

This examination will be, of necessity, brief in these pages; a mere description; it may be yet recurred to on a larger scale.

The rise of the Bishops of Rome to temporal dominion, was in the midst of the most barbarous period of the modern world. Italy was the central spot of carnage, the Aceldama, where all the brute passions and ferocious instincts of the barbarian world, met and fought, as over a common grave. Gaul and Greek, Tartar and Norman, had torn each other to pieces, in a hundred years of battle, round Rome. The Pope, the feeble pastor of a feeble city, alternately the vassal of every conquering savage, had struggled, less for power than for existence; till at length, the fury of barbarism wore itself out, and an age of treachery succeeded the nobler age of the sword.

By the fatal necessities of the time, the Christian Bishop had become a warrior; by his own more fatal ambition, he now became a

prince. In the year 754, Pope Stephen crossed the Alps to crown Pepin of France, an usurper and a homicide. We have seen a Pope, in our day, cross the Alps, to crown an usurper and a homicide. Thus have the beginning—and perhaps, the close of this proud sovereignty, been signalized by the same sanction of unhallowed power. Pepin, in return, gave the Pope a kingdom.

The policy of the Italian thrones has, in all ages, been distinguished for a subtle and blood-thirsty ambition; for restless violence where they were strong, for restless perfidy where they were weak, but always grasping at dominion, and always ready to pay for it the dark purchase of the vices. The Prince of Rome girded on the sword, like the rest, and fought his way fiercely through the war of the passions; yet he bore with him still some “of his original brightness;” the parting light of learning shone round him, and with the crosier in his hand, more powerful than the sword, he slowly rose to the height of earthly dominion:—the minister of Him, who declared that “his kingdom was not of this world,” he claimed the world for his kingdom!

But his actual territory, compressed by fierce sovereignties, was narrow; and his influence

over Europe, an influence which raised thrones and cast them down, was turned to revenue.

I have but touched upon this topic ; it is not my wish to speak with unnecessary offence to the memories of men, some of whom, in an humble rank, and in happier times, might have been an honour to religion, and some of whom erred through want of that knowledge which enlightens more than the understanding. But doctrines, strange and many, in this long building up of that tower which was to lift man to God, had accumulated round the Church of Rome, and have been transmitted as a painful and intolerable burthen to its priests, who *must* defend them *all!* and to its people, who are taught to bow down before them all.

With the priest, as such, Christian charity will have no quarrel, but will feel for the disastrous obstacles that custom and situation raise against his acceptance of the truth ; with the people, all the better sentiments are embarked, all the brotherly feelings of anxiety for their spiritual welfare, for their Scriptural hope through life, and for their reliance on God, and not on man, when they shall go down to the common grave of us all.

Our sterner business is with that criminal charlatanism, which would turn the unhappy

prejudices of both into a tool for its own dangerous ambition.

The council of Trent was formed in the middle of the sixteenth century, the century of the Reformation, for the threefold purpose of denying the doctrines of Luther, of purifying the relaxed discipline of the church, and of establishing a creed and code which were to be final and universal. Its canons were afterwards compressed by Pope Pius the Fourth into the creed which bears his name, and which is now the acknowledged belief of the Popish world. The thirteenth article of this creed commences the especial Popish doctrine; the first twelve articles are formed on the Nicene creed.

The thirteenth Article declares—the firm belief of the Church in all the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions.

Popery dares to declare, that there is a *double* revelation; and superadds to the written one of the Scriptures what it calls the *oral tradition* of the Church! thus loading the divine Word with the fantasies and fictions, the extravagant errors and unblushing forgeries of the whole line of Popes and Councils; which its chief ec-

clerics have pronounced "superior to the authority of the Scriptures!" Even so late as the present century the Divinity Professor at Maynooth college, Dr. Delahogue, (*Trac. de Ecclesia Christi*) has not scrupled to say that "Without the aid of tradition the Gospel is but a *mere name, sounds and words without meaning!*" Such are the guides of the Popish Church.

Our Lord declared that the Jews had "made the Word of God of *none effect* by their *tradition*." And this in a religion so much mingled with ceremonial. What would be the crime, when tradition came to clog, darken, and contradict his own spiritual and sublime revelation?

The fourteenth Article declares—that the judgment of the Church upon the meaning of Scripture is to be the *exclusive* guide of the Christian!

The judgment of the Church! the varying, contradictory, human judgment of Popes and councils, men, degraded by human motives, and stained with human crimes. A judgment given, sometimes to crush a political adversary, sometimes to crush a religious one; sometimes generated in the ignorance of a blinded age,

and sometimes in the grosser purpose of raising a revenue. And by this interpretation is the Christian spirit to abide, shutting the eyes of his understanding, or opening them only to draw down merciless persecution!

Upon those two articles is founded the power of Rome. The former establishes an usurper upon Scripture; the latter commands that we shall bow down to the usurper. Tradition is used, not to support Scripture, but to support the Church against it. In what part of the Bible are we commanded to wait for the help of tradition? Scripture declares itself to be "THE WHOLE COUNCIL OF GOD!"

The fifteenth article declares—that there are seven sacraments, baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony. It declares those to have been all instituted by our Lord, and "*essential* to salvation, though not all of them to every one."

Shall any man condescend to dwell upon the refutation of this strange doctrine! our Lord instituted but *two* sacraments, baptism and the eucharist. How is matrimony, however honourable and wise, *essential* to any man's salvation? Can anointing the joints of a dying man with

oil be any thing beyond a superstitious rite? by what train of reasoning can *penance* be proved essential to salvation? Which of the Apostles did *penance*? But all these added sacraments have been sources of the most productive revenue to Popery; therefore were they fabricated, and therefore are they retained!

The sixteenth article "embraces the whole doctrine of the council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification."

By this doctrine, eternal happiness is not simply a mercy of God, but a justice to the *merit* of man, the declared *wages* of his good works; and not merely thus, but often the underprice of his good works; for Popery holds, that a man may be so much better than he needs, that the superflux of his virtues may be given to make up his neighbour's deficiency!

What, then, becomes of our Lord's declaration that after we have done all, "we should call ourselves but unprofitable servants." Of St. Paul's praying, that "he may not be a cast-away;" after his life of holiness and labour in the Gospel. Of "the *wages* of sin is death, but the *gift* of God is eternal life." Of "ye are saved through *grace* by faith, and that, not of *your-*

selves, it is the *gift* of God." Of "not of *works*, lest any man should *boast*, for we are his workmanship, created in *Jesus Christ*, unto good works."

The Christian's heart will answer this doctrine by many a bitter consciousness, by the stain of his best purposes, by the infirmity of his loftiest performances, by the perpetual vacillation, the mortal and melancholy wanderings of his spirit, at hours when it should be full of the burning adoration of the Cherubim and Seraphim before the Lord. What becomes of Christian humility, the lowly, penitent, and heartfelt prostration of the converted spirit of man before that eye which seeth all its secrets! This proud and calamitous doctrine—the birth of haughty and worldly hearts—sets itself up against the whole sense of Scripture. But by this doctrine was Popery made the great source of refuge to the opulent criminal. The superfluous virtues of the faithful were turned into Indulgences, and the Indulgences were turned into money. It rolled a tide of wealth into the treasury of Rome!

The seventeenth Article professes, that—in the Mass is offered to God a true, proper, and

propitiatory *sacrifice* for the quick and *dead*; that in the Eucharist there is really and *substantially* the *body* and *blood*, together with the *soul* and *divinity* of our Lord Jesus Christ !

This article contains two features. First, of the Mass.

I would not speak irreverently of things which profess to be intended as homage to God. But in what language can the mind, not chained up in the fetters of Popish faith or fear, speak of a ceremony so simply, yet so mystically superstitious; so feebly, yet so deliberately allusive to the holiest and deepest act of redemption.

The Mass *.

“ 1. The priest goes to the altar, in reference to ‘ our Lord’s retreat with his Apostles to the garden of Olives !’ 2. Before he begins mass, he says a preparatory prayer; he is there to *look upon himself* as one *abandoned of God*, and driven out of *paradise* for the sin of Adam ! 3. The priest makes confession for himself and for the people, in which it is required, that he be *free from mortal and venial sin*. 4. The

* Picart’s Religious Ceremonies and Explanation of the Mass.

priest kisses the altar as a token of *our reconciliation* with God, and our Lord's being betrayed with a kiss! 5. The priest goes to the epistle side of the altar, and thurifies, or perfumes it with incense. Jesus Christ is *now supposed* to be, *taken and bound!* 6. The *Introite* is said or sung, *applicable* to the circumstances of our *Lord's being taken before Caiaphas!* 7. The priest, says the 'Kyrie Eleison,' (Lord have mercy upon us,) in allusion to *Peter's denying our Lord thrice!* 8. The priest, turning towards the altar, says 'Dominus vobiscum,' the people return the salutation by 'Et cum Spiritu tuo,' and this means, *Christ looking at Peter!* 9. The priest reads the epistle relative to Jesus being accused before Pilate. 10. The priest, bowing before the altar, says 'Munda cor,' and 'the devotion is directed to our Saviour's being brought before Pilate, and *making no reply!*' 11. The priest reads the Gospel, in which Jesus Christ is sent from Herod to Pilate. The Gospel is carried from the right of the altar to the left, to denote 'the *tender of the Gospel* to the Gentiles, after the refusal of the Jews!' 12. The priest uncovers the chalice, and this means, the *stripping* of our Lord, in order to be scourged! 13. The oblation of the host. The priest then kisses the altar, and

offers up the host, to represent the *scourging of Christ*. 14. The priest elevates the chalice, then covers it, and this means, the *crowning with thorns*! 15. The priest washes his fingers, as Pilate washed his hands; declares Jesus innocent, blesses the bread and wine, blesses the frankincense, perfumes the bread and wine!" &c.—

Can it be necessary to go further into this singular detail; to say, "that the priest spreading out his arms on the altar, is the representative of the cross; that he lifts the host, to express the lifting of our Lord; that he *adores* (for such is the word, and the inconceivable fact,) the *wafer* that he holds in his fingers, as THE VERY GOD! that he then mingles another adoration with this, and prays to the *Virgin Mary* and the *Saints* for their mediation! that he breaks the wafer, to represent *Christ's giving up the ghost*! that a fragment of this wafer put into the chalice, figures *our Lord's descent into hell*!"—till the series of those representations, amounting in the whole to thirty-five, is closed by a benediction, representing the blessings of the *descent of the Holy Ghost*!

Who can discover, in this complicated and dubious display, the simplicity of the Gospel? Or who will not regret to trace in it the same

unfortunate passion for show and symbol, that produced the "Mysteries" of the dark ages, those sacred dramas in which the majesty of divine things, and the common sense of man, were equally forgotten.

This mass is declared to be a "true *sacrifice* of Christ." This mass may be offered a hundred times a day, or a thousand times a day, if any one will *purchase* it. It may be purchased for sixpence; it may be purchased by the most contemptuous scoffer—by the ignorant—by the criminal. The assassin, reeking in blood, purchases it with the price of blood. The impure purchases it with the price of her crime; and substitutes it for remorse and virtue. Any human creature may buy any number of masses, and keep the altars of an empire in full employ, until his *purse* is drained! And is it to be thought that the mighty God is actually *sacrificed* day by day, and hour by hour, in every corner of the Popish world?

The entire letter and spirit of Scripture are in direct contradiction to this fatal error. Of Christ, it is declared in the epistle to the Hebrews, that he "*needeth not daily*, as those high priests, (of the Jews) to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people; for

this he did *once*, when he offered up himself.”
 “ Christ entered *once* into the holy place, having made redemption for us by his blood.”
 “ Christ was offered *once*, to bear the sins of many.”—“ This man, after he had offered up *one* sacrifice of sin, *for ever* sat down on the right hand of God !”

The Eucharist—transubstantiation—the great characteristic doctrine of Popery. By this doctrine Popery asserts, that out of a little flour and water, the priest makes—God ! that in *every* one of ten thousand or ten million wafers, the body and blood, the soul and divinity of the Lord Christ, are *wholly* comprehended !—That what was but flour and water this moment, will, at the next, by the simple effect of the priest’s prayer and fingers, be the actual omnipotent Lord that reigneth in the heaven of heavens ! That he can enclose in a box HIM whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain !—that he can give HIM to be swallowed by any and every body ! and that he is entitled to perform this act for *money*, as is done habitually in the mass ! Is not the mere statement of this doctrine enough ? Can human credulity go farther than to suppose any one of these things possible ; or human rashness farther than

to attempt them? For this doctrine, there is the single text, "Take, eat; this is my body." "This is my blood of the New Testament."

But our Lord's language of himself is almost constantly emblematic. He calls himself successively the "vine," of which his disciples are the "branches;" the "door;" the fountain of "living waters;" "the bread of life;" "the temple." The terms of eating and drinking, to express the affections of the mind, are the customary language of Scripture.

By taking the words in a literal sense, we are oppressed with resistless difficulties.

We are compelled to believe the palpable contradictions,—that his body was already broken, when it was *not* broken.—That declaring that he had come *not* to violate the law, he commanded his disciples, Jews, to violate the law, and *eat blood*! (An act so obnoxious, that it was prohibited even to the Christian Gentile converts.) And that every man who receives the sacrament must, be he good or evil, be received into eternal happiness! It involves the impossibilities—that our Lord should be holding the bread in his hands, while *that bread* should be our Lord bodily. — And, that every one of the ten thousand wafers that the priest may make, should *each* contain the

whole omnipotence of God! What is *wholly* contained in one, cannot be *wholly* contained in another.

None of our Lord's miracles *shock* the human understanding. Allow, that he was the Messiah; and we take his restoring the dead to life, his calming the tempest, or his feeding the five thousand, simply as conceivable instances of pre-eminent and godlike power; his miracles are announced as miracles, and followed by acknowledged wonder. But here, if the literal meaning be true, we have a miracle which *shocks* the human understanding; which in the original narrative is accompanied by no wonder; which has outlived the age of miracle; which is performed hourly by men, who have no gift of miracle; and this miracle the most overwhelming of all, the making of Deity!

This doctrine, denied by Augustine and other leading Fathers, has been one of the mightiest engines of the power and profit of Rome!

The wafer is *worshipped*. The council of Trent, (Sess. 13, c. 5,) declares, "Nullus itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur, quin Christi fideles, pro more in Catholica ecclesia semper recepto, LATRIÆ cultum, qui VERO DEO debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento exhibeant." This is idolatry!

Transubstantiation is, therefore, to use the words of a distinguished writer, "Impossible, because such supposed miracle is contrary, to the evidence of our senses, to the immutable laws of nature, and to Christ's own instructions *."

* See a pamphlet, published by Hatchard, entitled, "The Grounds on which the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome reconsidered, in a View of the Romish Doctrine of the Eucharist, &c. By Shute, Bishop of Durham."

In this learned pamphlet the question is stated in a manner adequate to its importance.

If I might presume to add to what has been so effectually done, I should say, that the mere reading of the sixth chapter of St. John in its simple and natural sense might decide all conscientious doubts upon the subject.—The Jews, who had seen the miracle of the loaves and fishes, had come to the place where it was performed, and not finding our Lord there, had followed him to Capernaum. There, he told them that their coming was not on account of spiritual homage to the power of God, but for the mere indulgence of their earthly appetites; not because of "the miracle, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled." (v. 26.) Our Lord, in the usual style of his discourses, then adopts the immediate subject, and turns it into doctrine. "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, (the actual food, for which you now solicit;) but, for that meat which endureth to everlasting life," (a sustenance not earthly, but altogether *spiritual*.)

The people then ask him of what nature is that labour? "What shall we do that we may work the work of God?"

The Eighteenth Article declares, "that under one kind only, whole and entire, Christ is taken and received."

He tells them that the whole is spiritual. "This is the work of God, that ye *believe on him*, whom he hath sent."

The people then, as was their custom, desire "a sign," and say that Moses proved his right to belief, by giving actual food from Heaven. Our Lord meets this again, by saying, that he too will give food, but of an altogether purer nature than the food given by Moses, which was mere mortal sustenance. "*Not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead. He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.*" v. 58.

Having declared that this bread is but another name for "belief on him," and therefore nothing earthly or eatable after the manner of man; he declares that this "bread" is his "flesh," which is therefore "belief on him," and not to be taken in any human sense of *body and blood*.

At the mention of "eating his flesh," the Jews, who evidently had taken the expression as the Romish Church does, in its literal sense, "strove among themselves, How can this man give us *his flesh* to eat." v. 52. Our Lord vouchsafed *them* no explanation, but repeated his declaration in a still more distinct style. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath *eternal life.*" v. 53, 54.

This discourse he held in the synagogue, in the presence of the general Jewish congregation.

Subsequently, when he was with his disciples, he "knew in

Undoubtedly, if he is bodily in the wafer, the cup is unnecessary; yet our Lord desired that the disciples should *all* drink of the cup.

himself" that this language of *eating his flesh* had perplexed them as much as the Jews in the synagogue; the eating of human flesh being, of course, abhorrent to human nature. He then gives the disciples that *explanation* which it was his custom to give to *them*, and to withhold from the wilful and stubborn prejudices of the Jews. As in St. Luke viii. 10. "Unto *you* it is given to *know* the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to *others* in *parables*. That seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand." He asks them, with obvious reproof, "Doth this offend you?" v. 61. Are you to be staggered by so slight and verbal a difficulty, when it is your very office to see and bear witness of the most stupendous wonders, things really startling to the human understanding? "What! and if ye shall see" me borne up to heaven, "the Son of man ascend to where he was before!" v. 62. Look to my spiritual meaning, and not the mere expression; it is "the spirit" of the words that has any efficacy, "that quickeneth." "The flesh," the mere *human material*, is not in my meaning, for it can be of no use to immortality, it "profiteth nothing." "The *words* that I speak to you," my doctrine and my belief, *not* the *eating of my body*; "*they* are spirit and *they* are life." v. 63. He closes this explanation by the corroborating remark, "But there are some of you that believe not:" that have not the conviction, that I am the Lord!

In this passage, "the flesh profiteth nothing," it is obvious that we are not to take the word—flesh, in the meaning afterwards used in the Epistles, as expressing the carnal and evil nature of man in contradistinction to the spiritual

The sacrament was given in both kinds for above a thousand years.

The Nineteenth Article declares, "that there is a purgatory, and that the souls kept there are relieved by the suffrage of the faithful."

By this article, the Church of Rome declares, that "being forgiven our sins," is *not* being forgiven, but being reserved for a punishment of perhaps millions of years;—that "having peace through the Lord Jesus Christ," is *not* having peace, but being put in torture;—and that there is a third place where the soul is burned, racked, scourged, or agonized in some way or other, for a time suited to its offences here! The Church of Rome assumes to have the power to remit this punishment, or any fragment of it; and this power is used—according to the *money* paid for her mass or her Indulgence! This doctrine Rome will never abandon; for she never abandons revenue.

and converted one. Our Saviour here talks of the "*flesh*" as a source of holiness and of eternal life.

The result is this—the words "bread," "*flesh*," and "belief," are throughout used indifferently for each other.—Therefore the Popish acceptance of the word, *flesh*, as implying the *actual body and blood* of our Lord, has no foundation in Scripture.

The twentieth Article declares—that Saints are to be *invoked*, and that their relics are to be had in *veneration*!

Scripture commands that we shall pray to God alone; Popery, that we pray also to dead men. Scripture says, that there is but “one Mediator” between God and man; Popery says that there is a multitude of mediators. It commands us to worship with prayer and praise beings who may not be able to hear us; who, if they did hear, might not be able to help; and who, if they can do either, would not accept the worship due alone to the God alike of the quick and the dead! It commands us to do homage to bones and remnants, some of which are notorious impostures, and none of which can be proved to have belonged to Saints, or, if they did, to have been entitled to worship. But this monstrous doctrine, arising in the deepest night of the Church, has been a prolific source of revenue.

The twenty-first Article commands—that the images of Christ, of the blessed Virgin, the *Mother of God*! and those of the other Saints shall be retained, and that due honour and veneration shall be paid to them!

Scripture commands, "Thou shalt not make to thyself *any graven image*, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not *bow* down to them, nor *worship* them." Popery, with conscious disobedience, extinguishes this commandment in its Decalogue!—fills its Churches with graven images of the Godhead, of the Virgin, and of the Saints; dresses them up in preposterous ornament, *bows* down to them, and *worships* them! adoring them, stocks and stones as they are, with incense, with supplication, with gifts, and with thanksgiving! It asserts, that some of those images have been brought by the hands of angels, that some weep, and show the spirit within, that some heal diseases, that some stop plagues, earthquakes, and volcanoes. This is idolatry!

Popery now professes that this homage is only emblematic; but the golden calf was only emblematic, even of the God that led the Israelites out of Egypt; yet for this the wrath of God was visited on the chosen people in massacre and plague. The idols of the heathen were all once emblematic. In ancient Rome, they were laughed at and knelt to by the higher orders; they were venerated and

worshipped by the populace. In modern Rome, they are laughed at and knelt to by the higher orders, and venerated and worshipped by the populace. What is the difference?

The "Pontifical" declares in express words, that *divine worship* is due to the Cross, "*cruci debetur LATRIA.*" The reinforcement of the good man's virtues, and the forgiveness of the culprit's sin, what are they but attributes of divinity? Yet they are both attributes of the Cross, in the hymn on the 14th of September.

" O crux ave, spes unica
In hac triumphi gloria,
Piis adauge gratiam,
Reisque dele crimina."—*Breviar. Rom.*

In the anthem to the Magnificat, this praise is only more expanded adoration.

" O crux splendidior cunctis astris, munda celebris, hominibus multum amabilis, sanctior universis, quæ sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi, dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulcia ferens pondera, SALVA præsentem cætervam in tuis hodiè laudibus congregatam."

To the Virgin Mary, the homage is a continued *rapture*; she is called by the lofty names of the Queen of Heaven, and the Mother of God! Pilgrimages are made to her shrine; her

statue is touched for the cure of diseases; she speaks oracles; she weeps omens: a Litany is devoted to her; what more can be done in divine worship?

But where in Scripture is she so honoured? Is she, by the Apostles or their Lord, called the Mother of God, or even named with peculiar reverence? And what is all this but the growth of an age of darkness and ceremonies, when human passion covered, like a rank and noxious weed, the pure altars of God?——
IDOLATRY!

The twenty-second Article establishes—the doctrine of Indulgences!

Scripture declares—that “where the tree falleth, there it shall lie.” Popery declares, that there it shall *not* lie. It declares, that there is a long course of purification, for the spirit which is pronounced “to be pure by the blood of our Lord;” and that, from the pains of purgatory, it can release the soul, for as long or as short a time—as may be *paid for*. It declares, that the inflictions of a judgment of God, (of which man can know nothing,) may be shortened or extinguished, may be cut into fragments of time and agony, at the will of man; and that this remission may be bartered for money!

What is all this but to declare, at once, that Popery, not God, is the judge of the quick and dead; that the rich and poor, however equal in his eyes, are unequal in his punishments; and that money, however gained, is the only source of salvation!

And this doctrine it reduces to practice, on the most acute, extensive, and systematic scale of finance. Indulgences run through the whole Romish economy; they are sold annexed to relics and toys; they are connected with pilgrimages to shrines. In the great Jubilee of the present year, it is announced to the world, that they will be dispensed with peculiar profusion and liberality.

Indulgences are to be purchased reaching from ten years to ten thousand; they have reached to ten hundred thousand! Indulgences have been given to extinguish the punishment, not merely of sins committed, but of sins *intended*! The Italian bravo going to commit an assassination, has stopped on his way, to purchase a celestial pardon; and the "Indulgence" may comprehend, not merely the bravo and his bloodshed, but all his troop, all his acquaintance, to the utmost desire of his charity, and the widest extent of his hire of blood!

By this doctrine, the whole territory of Eu-

F.

rope must have been at length absorbed by the priests of Rome, as the price of masses for the opulent guilty. But the indignation of its princes, and the common sense of man, interposed, and curtailed her comprehensive ambition. Bales of indulgences are regularly traded in to all parts of the earth, where Popery is still more than a name. They have been found on board a Spanish galleon to the estimated trade-value of three millions sterling. Such is the doctrine of a Church, unearthly, apostolic, and infallible !

The twenty-third article is a declaration of the supremacy of the Church of Rome ;—and dictates an oath of *true obedience* to the Pope, the *vicar* of Christ !

The twenty-fourth and last article, is a solemn profession of belief in *all things* declared by the councils, and especially the council of Trent, and *curses all heresies* ; and this is finally pronounced to be “ the Catholic Faith, without which *no man can be saved* !”

Can those monstrous propositions be defended by any man who has the power of looking into a Bible. Rome is satisfied, at least, that they cannot be believed by him ; for she

has prohibited the Bible with a rigour of discipline, with a perpetual and violent language of prohibition, with a fierce and vindictive display of penalty, that could be excited by nothing but guilty fear. For age upon age she had succeeded in suppressing those Books of our faith and hope; in denying to man, who must struggle through a world of temptation and suffering, the words of that Wisdom from above, by which he might be cheered in suffering, and be sustained in temptation; in denying to the millions of millions, who must pass from life only to stand before the judgment of God, the very laws by which they must be tried. Such a power would have desired to blot the sun out of heaven, if it could throw light upon the sullen secrets of its house of bondage.

This prohibition of the Bible was the characteristic of Rome, and its chief crime; for it was the source and subterfuge of all the rest. This has been denied; and while the priesthood are at this hour refusing the Scriptures to the people, they are blazoning the liberality of their Church.

The history of the bull "Unigenitus" is a direct answer to all assertions that the Church

of Rome suffers the Bible to be in the hands of the laity.

Pere Quesnel, a French priest, had published a French version of the New Testament, with moral reflections upon the text.

The Papal See at once declared this attempt at diffusing the knowledge of the Word of God, a crime! and fulminated a bull against the version; stating a number of propositions as the peculiar points of offence. Among those were the following eight, relative to the Scriptures.

(79) "It is useful and necessary for all persons to know the Scriptures.

(80) "The reading of the Scriptures is for every body.

(81) "The sacred obscurity of the Word of God is no reason for the laity to excuse themselves from reading it.

(82) "The Lord's day ought to be sanctified by Christians, in reading pious books, and, above all, the Scriptures.

(83) "It is a great mistake to imagine, that the knowledge of the mysteries of religion ought not to be imparted to women, by the reading of the sacred Books.

(84) "To wrest the New Testament out of the hands of Christians, or to keep it closed

up, by taking from them the means of understanding it, is no other than to shut or close up the mouth of Christ as to them.

(85) "To forbid to Christians the reading of the Holy Scriptures, especially of the Gospel, is to forbid the use of light to the children of light.

(86) "To deprive the unlearned people of the comfort of joining their voice with the voice of the whole church, is a custom contrary to apostolical practice, and to the design of God."

And those truths, which the Protestant world solemnly acknowledges, and which are the common dictates of reason, as well as the direct commands of Revelation, did Pope Clement IX. in the year 1713, pronounce by this bull to be *false! shocking!* injurious to the church's practice, *blasphemous*, and *heretical!* And the formidable declaration was promulgated, that the "faithful in Christ, of both sexes, shall not presume to hold any of those propositions, under *penalty of the censures* of the church!"

Popery boasts that it is the original church. But it cannot be more original than its peculiar doctrines; and they are all at least four centuries later than the Gospel, which Protestantism

takes for its sole foundation ! The worship of the Virgin was not a ceremony of even the Romish Church till the fifth century. Clerical celibacy was not commanded till the fifth century. Purgatory was the fruit of the sixth. Transubstantiation of the eighth. The withholding the cup from the laity was not known before the tenth ; nor the adoration of the wafer before the thirteenth !

The resistance to these innovations, which now form the very substance of Popery, was frequent and strong. In the eleventh century the whole of the Greek Christians declared transubstantiation to be altogether unscriptural, and denounced the withholding of the cup. In the seventh century the Eastern Churches, still a most powerful portion of Christendom, denounced Relics as an abomination. From the ninth to the twelfth centuries, the Celibacy of the clergy was the source of perpetual and violent controversy.

The great Reform, that broke out in the south of Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and yielding, though after long and splendid struggles, was revived in England, under Wickliffe, in the fourteenth.—The mustard-seed, which was to grow into a mighty tree, already covering the nobler half of Europe, and destined

at no remote day to cover the world ;—was but a more open effort of that spirit of hallowed resistance to Rome, which had been never extinguished from the first age of her tyranny.

And to this presumptuous Faith are we to say, Come up, and sit with us in our place of power ! You accurse our religion, come and legislate for it. You declare our Bible to be the “ Bible of the devil,” come and direct our scriptural knowledge. You have sworn to *maintain, promote, and defend* the *royalties and authority* of the Popedom ; come into the councils of a kingdom that has utterly rejected his dominion. In your harmless obscurity you hate and anathematize us ; come up and stand in the very sanctuary of the constitution, where your hate and your anathema may pollute, and betray, and ruin !

Popery has long been, like her own Sixtus, decrepit and bowed down ; but she has been only looking for the sceptre ; let us give it into her hand, and we shall see her start up in full vigour, and in full derision of the folly which had been deceived into placing a tyrant upon the throne !

Opinions of modern Papists.

To satisfy the Protestant, that the Popish doctrines and political principles have not been misrepresented ; a succession of printed opinions, delivered, even within these few years, by their chief authorities among ourselves, shall be here given.

In 1815, Mr. Gandolphy, one of the most popular among the Popish clergy in London, published a series of Sermons, entitled, “ A Defence of the Ancient Faith, or a *full* Exposition of the Christian Religion.” Of this work he had previously presented the first part to the late “ Vicar Apostolic” of the London district ; by whom it was received with the highest approbation ; and Mr. Gandolphy was urged to continue his labours. On the completion of the work, in four volumes, he presented it to Dr. Poynter, the successor of the late Vicar, previously to the author’s carrying it to Rome, to be submitted to the censorship. Dr. Poynter is probably a man of sense and caution, and has been therefore stigmatized, by the Irish agitators, in the most unmeasured language, even to the extent of being designated as “ one, who, by the *intrigues* of a *faction*, which has

been for three and twenty years *undermining the Catholic Church* ; has sought to be the director-general over the independent IRISH HIERARCHY ; an executioner," &c. Adding a determination to " keep themselves distinct from *Dr. Poynter and the Veto party.*" (Dublin Evening Post, Dec. 20, 1816.)

What may have been Dr. Poynter's motive, whether piety or policy, for ordering the suppression of this work, must be left to conjecture. But another divine, Dr. Troy, in the case of the atrocious notes of the Rhemish Testament, mentioned, as among his motives for their suppression, " that very bad consequences had followed the publication of the Rhemish Testament ; for, finding its way into *England*, it had armed their enemies against them, and this at a time when they were seeking emancipation." However, without regard for the Vicar's motives, Mr. Gandolphy carried his volumes to Rome, and laid them before the established censorship.

There they were read with the *highest* approval by the Censors, and declared " to have rendered the Articles of the Catholic Faith *clearer than the light !*" his opinions were pronounced to be " supported by the *authority of the Councils*, and the *perpetual tradition of the Church !*" — compelling heretics to " acknow-

ledge, all enveloped as they are in darkness, that they are unacquainted with the light of *the true Faith*, and the Polar Star of *Catholic unity*, without which we must *necessarily suffer shipwreck!* "The work is further panegyricized as not merely 'containing *nothing* contrary to the pure faith and doctrine of the Roman Catholic faith;' but as one, "which, if it were but fairly perused by those persons, who *glory* more in the name of *Protestants* than of *Christians!* would quickly make them return to the bosom of the Catholic Church!"

The author is in those documents characterized as "a *most well-deserving defender of religion,*" and it is further declared that "multiplied Editions of this Work, so worthy to be *cased in cedar and gold,* will be *highly advantageous* to the *Catholic Church!*"

Those judgments of the Papal Censors, with the "Imprimatur," are signed by Damiani, master of Sacred Théology; by Ofinan, professor of Sacred Scripture; by Anfossi, master of the Sacred Apostolical Palace, and Frattini, Archbishop of Philippi, and Vicegerent.

Authorities of this kind are unanswerable pledges for Mr. Gandolphy's credit, as an Expositor of the present doctrines of Rome.

From those volumes but a few sentences shall be extracted, merely as specimens of the general opinions of his Church.

Of the Authority of Councils.

“ Every Catholic regards the decision of the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church upon any controverted Article of Faith, as *the voice of God.*” (v. I. p. 398, &c.)

“ A Catholic finds no more difficulty in assenting to any truth she, (the Church,) proposes to him as an Article of Faith, than he would in admitting the *Oral testimony* of GOD HIMSELF.” (v. I. p. 429.)

We may remember, that the chief Councils *curse all heretics*, including the Protestants; and order them to be tortured and put to death!

Of Heresy.

“ The crime of heresy is an obstinate opposition to *any Article* of Faith.” (v. I. Note p. 414.)

“ If we may be permitted to judge of a crime by its consequences, there is none before heaven of a *blacker dye, than heresy.*” (v. II. p. 66.)

“The different sects of Reformists which have shown themselves in *this* and other countrie within the last two centuñies, were *all* engendered in the *heresy of Luther*.” (v. II. p. 390.)

“Heresy is usually the burst of some turbulent mind that can be, *controuled* only by FORCE.” (v. IV. Note p. 35.)

The Church of England.

“The Church of England is the eldest of her *heretical* sisterhood! is a *schismatical* branch! a *dead limb* of the true vine! a REBELLIOUS child.” (v. I. p. 390.)

“*Until* the Reformation, the Church of England was a limb of the true vine, &c. But having been once severed by the destructive hand of schism; with a *hateful* eye HE now views the *sickly* sprouts, which issue from its *fallen, crushed and broken* branches.—*This* shall wither, and they shall gather *It* up and cast *It* into the fire and IT SHALL BURN.” (v. II. p: 368.

The Protestant Clergy.

Mr. Gandolphy, having first determined that the knowledge of the revealed will of God is

to be had only in the Romish Church, thus excluding the Protestant Pastor from all power of instruction; declares this infliction of a Clergy upon England to be on a par with that vengeance of God upon the Jews, by which four hundred FALSE PROPHETS were suffered to seduce and pollute the people! (v. I. p. 218, &c.)

“ More *mercifully* does HE pursue them with pestilence, fire and sword. And yet on how many millions of our *fellow subjects* does the DIVINE JUSTICE *thus secretly revenge itself*.” He then damns Clergy and people together, *more Ecclesiæ*. “ For an *Eternity*, will they be the willing but unhappy victims of their delusion !” (v. I. p. 220, &c.)

“ Does not common sense suggest to them, that *one* of the *two* (the Protestant Bishop of London and a Popish preacher) must *necessarily* be an *emissary* of the *spirit of darkness*, a *disciple* of the *father of lies*. (v. I. p. 221, &c.)

It is fortunate for his Lordship, and for more than him, that those who gave their “ Impri-matur” to Mr. Gandolphy’s views of Christianity, are not now sitting in judgment in Smithfield.

Protestantism.

“ The reformation means, first, a departure from the *revealed religion* of *Jesus Christ*! Secondly, the substitution of a *human invention* by Luther! And thirdly, an unjustifiable REBELLION against the lawful authority of CHRIST’S CATHOLIC CHURCH.” (v. II. p. 129.)

“ Every sect of Christians out of communion with the Church of Rome, has had but a *passing existence*, all have originated in a separation from her,—have *lived their time* and *died away*. Last of all, was brought upon the stage of Europe, the *Reformed Church* of Luther! Here we discover no trace of Catholicity,—witness the *Kirk of Scotland* and the *Church of England*. These latter have not yet sunk into *total oblivion*.” (v. II. p. 200.)

The Propagation of Popery by the Sword.

“ Remember how often the *Almighty* led the armies of the *Israelites* into battle.” (v. II. Note p. 300.) “ War forms one of the *means* which providence frequently employs to effect its designs.” “ When the Christian states offered to draw the sword in this most just and lawful cause, did it not become the chief pastor of the Church, and the *common father* of Christen-

dom to encourage his *children* by *all the means* in his *power*, and to view the Christian *enrolment* in such a service, as one of the most *useful* and *meritorious* sacrifices to be made in the cause of civilization and religion." (v. IV. Note p. 301.)

This warlike declaration is grounded on a reference to Pope Urban's granting indulgences to the Crusaders; but the principle is universal, and applies equally to all other military adventures of Popery for the promotion of the Faith!

The raising of a revenue by indulgences, is justified, by a recurrence to the ways and means which built St. Peter's; and thus the Popish Church is furnished with both the *purse* and the *sword*!

"Writers have noticed the great diminution of *heresies* since the *temporal authority* of the Popes became more *settled* and *extended*!"

"In the event of the Pope's being a *Sovereign* himself, he is more respected by other princes; who see in him not only a *MASTER in point of FAITH*, but moreover, an equal in his rank of *Sovereignty*, and able *temporally*, as well as *spiritually*, to support the welfare of the Church. (v. IV. Note p. 35, &c.) This power is distinctly stated to be—for the suppression of heresy!"

that “ work of a turbulent mind, which can be *controuled only by FORCE!*”

On those principles the most cruel persecution might be founded, if the Pope's power were equal to his claims. But what are we to think of the perversion of mind, which the Romish doctrine can generate; when we find an Ecclesiastic, who has lived under the free government, and in the enlightened and humane influence of English manners, thus applauding that blot and scandal to man and religion, the blood-thirsty Inquisition!

“ Italy, Spain, and Portugal, are the only countries where the Inquisition is found; in which countries there are *none but Catholics!* Now, when we consider the great advantage of *one* religion to a State: when we reflect on the broils, wars, and disturbances, occasioned by a community divided into *Sects*, we cannot be *surprised* that the governments of those countries should endeavour to *protect* what they know to be so *beneficial*. And if *other countries* refuse to follow their *example*, it is only because they are *not so* FORTUNATELY circumstanced in this regard.” (v. IV. Note p. 260.)

That any man with human blood in his veins should write this! That any Church calling

itself Christian, should sanction this ! That any people raised above the lowest barbarism, should look for religious wisdom or political regeneration to a system stained by this horrid doctrine, is altogether inconceivable !

But this doctrine was not a dead letter. Almost the last act of the late Pope was to issue a bull for the revival of the Inquisition in Spain !

Pre-eminence of the Popish Priest.

“ What *Angel* is privileged with more exalted functions, than the Priests of the Lamb. They form his *royal court* upon earth. They are the *chosen guardians* of his *person* !

“ Let monarchs claim the adulation of their subjects ; in the eyes of faith, and in the eyes of the Christian, the *Priest* of Jesus Christ is a *more exalted* character, and *more entitled to veneration*. He walks among men a *miracle of grace* !

“ He is by chastity an ANGEL ! and his virginity is the image of the unchangeable UNITY of God !” (v. IV. p. 106, &c.)

“ The ministry exalts the individuals above all, for which human life had designed them, makes them the agents of God, the *vicegerents* of Jesus Christ, and the SAVIOURS of men !

“ Let a Prince only descend from the throne and he will return to the common and undistinguished mass of his fellow creatures, whereas the sacred character of a *Catholic Priest* is INDELIBLE in his PERSON!

“ It (the ministry) ranks them even *above* the *angelic Spirits*! and clothes them with the divine character of the MESSIAH himself! These distinctions, however, arising from the sacerdotal ministry, *exclusively* belong to the priesthood of the CATHOLIC CHURCH!” (v. IV. p. 116, &c.)

“ When in the sacrifice of the Mass we celebrate the mystery of the Last Supper of Jesus Christ, the consecrated Priest of God acts *not* in the capacity of a mere *human agent*, but exercises the DIVINE POWER lodged in HIM, of working the mysterious change in the substances of bread and wine, and of producing, under their species, that VERY BODY of *Jesus Christ, which the Angels adore*! At the moment he fulfils the word spoken by our blessed Saviour, the omnipotence of God operates BY HIS MINISTER, and there is *instantaneously* and *substantially* present in the *whole*, and in every *particle* of the sacramental elements, that GLORIFIED BODY OF JESUS CHRIST, which therein

subsists as long as the elements of bread and wine endure !" (v. III. p. 135.)

In the earlier pages of this pamphlet, it was stated that the Romish priesthood looked upon themselves as a body altogether superior to their fellow subjects ; does not the statement that has been just given from the authority of Rome, satisfy the Protestant of this intolerable presumption. What true obedience to human laws can we expect from men who are pronounced to be "above Princes ! nay, above Angels ; nay, images of the unchangeable UNITY OF GOD ! Acting by a *divine power lodged in them !* and clothed with the *divine character* of the MESSIAH himself !" Or what prostrate, extravagant, and dangerous obedience to spiritual ambition, hatred, or revenge, must we not expect to find from the ignorant multitude, who can believe that their Priests are invested with such attributes ! Well might the Pope command the dethronement of Kings and the subversion of nations, if such are his ministers ; well might he command the world, in its brute humiliation, to hail him "OUR LORD GOD, THE POPE ! Dominus DEUS noster, Papa !" And well may thrones and nations be on their guard, while such men, armed with such doctrines, are among them !

The Protestant Church.

According to this exposition of "the ancient faith," the Protestant clergy have *no* title whatever to be considered as ecclesiastics; their ordination is declared to be the apostate work of an *apostate*! their virtue is hypocrisy, their faith ignorance, and their office impiety. I shall give but a few quotations.

"True virtue and religion are to be attained **EXCLUSIVELY** in the *Catholic Church*." (v. II. p. 3.)

"By this form (the form of consecration under Edward VI.) and the *apostate* hands of the *impious* Cranmer, some few Protestants were advanced to the episcopacy.

"He (Cranmer) was the principal promoter of the **REBELLION** against Mary; and after practising every species of hypocrisy and deceit, suffered at the stake for *treason* and *heresy*!" (v. II. note, p. 158.)

Such is the verdict of Popery on the character of a man, whose blameless life and cruel death place him among the Martyrs, and have brought round his memory the praise and pity of all Christian men. No act of the infuriate reign of Mary excited greater horror through

England and Europe than that murder, which Popery now calls the just punishment of a heretic and a traitor. Even Hume, who cannot be suspected of an undue leaning to Protestantism, thus describes Cranmer. "Undoubtedly, a man of merit, possessed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the Protestant party." (See Burnet, Collier, &c.)

Let the Protestant clergy look to the following distinct declaration, *authorized* as it was at Rome!

"It may be matter of serious astonishment to Protestants, that Catholics have so pertinaciously *refused to recognize the spiritual character* of the ministers of the established Church, and have *uniformly* viewed its *Bishops* and inferior Clergy in the light of *Laymen*."

"Filling, as I do, a *public station* in the Catholic Church, and being *expressly appointed* to guard the *truth*; it would ill become me to fear the idle charge of *illiberality*, &c." The

arguments of Catholics against the *validity of Protestant ordination*, may be resolved into these two grand objections. 1. A defect of succession from the Catholic hierarchy. 2. A defect in the sacramental form of ordaining! At present, a Protestant Bishop or Clérgyman, on his *conversion* to the Catholic faith, returns to the rank of a *Layman*." (v. IV. p. 68.)

Thus it is daringly declared, not merely that our Clérgy are impostors and usurpers, but that all the rites solemnized by them, marriage, baptism, &c., are impostures, invalid, and déstitute of all legal authority in the eyes of the Popish *Sovereignty*; and, of course, liable to be annulled whenever it shall have the power! What, then, becomes of the tenures of property, which are so deeply involved in the validity of marriage, &c. This doctrine amounts to a complete overthrow of property.

In the year 1556, in the last period of acknowledged papal authority in the British empire, the Irish Parliament were *obliged to obtain*, and that through the Queen's favour, a *Papal Bull* for the *confirmation of the marriages*, &c. which had taken place during the previous period of Protestantism! (Leland, v. II. p. 209.)

The "Defence of the ancient Faith," pronounces the holding of Church property by the

Protestant Clergy, to be *invalid*, or to be capable of validity only on their *conversion to Popery* !

“ Whenever the *virtuous and exemplary* among the Protestant Prelates and Clergy shall manifest a real desire of *returning to the fold of the Church* ! by *embracing her faith*, and submitting to her *authority* ; I doubt not that a *course might be adopted*, which would give them a *canonical*, as well as civil title to their *sees and livings*, and *thus QUALIFY* them to ADMINISTER the SACRAMENTS to their flocks.” (v. IV. p. 104.)

So much for the “ securities” which the advocates of Popery in the British legislature talk of providing for the Protestant Church ! So much for the forbearance of Popery ! Let them tear the seal from this bond under the hand of Rome, if they can. This book of the law and the gospel of Popery is more candid, and thus it passes sentence : “ She (the Church of England) *must either resign her hierarchy*, or see it again *united in communion* with the CATHOLIC CHURCH !” (v. IV. p. 445, &c.)

I now quote a passage for the wisdom of those who assert that time has humanized the Church of Rome.

“ There are *some Catholics*, who, either *ignorant* of the nature of TRUTH, or too *pusillanimous*

to profess it, endeavour to persuade their Protestant friends, that they are not so "bigoted" and "intolerant" as the generality of their brethren. By this style and conduct, those persons seem to partake, *like the mule*, of two natures, and to be both Protestant and Catholic at once. Now there is *no character* that I am *more desirous of opening* to my Protestant countrymen.

"They should know then, that none are more *thoroughly infected* with what Protestants *understand by bigotry and intolerance*, than those '*liberal*' minded Catholics! who differ from other Catholics in *nothing* but the HYPOCRITICAL MASK, under which they *conceal* themselves from Protestant observation!"

"While the *honest* Catholic is styled an intolerant bigot, because *he* believes that NO ONE CAN BE SAVED OUT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, the '*liberal*' Catholic says, that bigots, to be sure, may be found everywhere, but that he has no idea of *damning* a man, merely because he differs from him in sentiment. The *honest* Catholic *damns* no man, neither the *heretic* nor the *adulterer*, but simply *DECLARES THE LAW!*" (v. II. p. 42, &c.)

Now let us hear no more of that affected, empty, rhetorical flourish, that Popery has

meliorated with the age; that she does not claim the property of the English Church; that she does not look with an envenomed eye upon its doctrines, its teachers, and its existence; that she does not hold the church and the people as equally *rebels*, and to be equally punished, confiscated, and consigned even to the fires of hell! Her dogmas are before us, and those, not in the vague conceptions of unauthorized individuals; but, first, in the language of her ancient councils and decretals, her Jurists and popes, and now again, in the comment and explanation of the most recent times; and this comment, issued from Rome with the knowledge, that it was to be laid before the people of England at a period when her doctrines had again become the subject of enquiry, and when, from the struggle going on, it was of importance that the obnoxious features of her belief should be produced in the most popular and most disguised form. We may be assured, that it was as little the intention, as it was the policy of the late Pope, to disgust the people of England by any deformity of his creed, which he could conceal. The Pope was indebted to England for personal services; he has been even charged by the Irish Papists with unworthy compliances, for political objects;

he had already given his approval to measures of the English cabinet, relative to the Catholic question. In those he had disclaimed the "violation of oaths to heretic princes, the dethronement of heretic princes," &c.; unquestionably in direct contradiction to the written records of his own church law, but, as unquestionably, in the spirit of a man willing to put the best face on the Romish tenets that he could. But they have a prominent and fierce physiognomy, that nothing can altogether change or conceal; and as the pages of those volumes bear witness, he was compelled to transmit, perhaps a softened, but still a most menacing and repulsive portraiture.

I have now done with the divines, and I am glad of it; we come to the politicians. Under this head I shall quote three authorities, irresistible with the Irish Papist. The anonymous "Statement of the Penal Laws,"—Dr. Dromgole,—and Mr. O'Connell himself.

The "Statement of the Penal Laws," is a plain, straight-forward, unhesitating Popish demand for the whole power and property of Ireland, Church and State. The Irish Papists are pronounced to be the masters of the land, *the* people of Ireland! They are further, and with a suitable sense of the discovery, pronounced

to be masters of the whole *military* means of Ireland.

“ THEY occupy the most *valuable* positions for *military* purposes! the most *tenable passes*! the readiest supplies of *forage*! the readiest means of *attack and defence*! They constitute *five-sixth parts* of the Irish population. The open country is in their almost exclusive *occupation*. In fine, the Catholics are *emphatically* THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND !”

This is a sufficiently expressive exposé of the points which this concealed tactician desires to carry by “emancipation.” He holds the *Carte du pays* open in his hand, and lays down the ground for the campaign of the Faith. Having marshalled his rising levee *en masse*, he rushes through the details with the vigour of a Republican. He tells us, that the popish Clergy are upwards of two thousand in all their due degrees ; and of course perfectly equal to the acceptance of the Church property, of which, “ upon every principle of public policy and justice, they are *entitled to claim* a share, a *large share* of the public revenue of Ireland, for the maintenance of their Pastors, houses of worship,” &c. This large share he elsewhere defines to be a share *proportioned* to the *numbers* of the Popish population, which, as he esti-

mates them, "compared with the numbers of the Established Church, is as ten to one;" and as he, and all the party writers, deprecate the idea of paying their Clergy by the hands of government, or of increasing the tithes, directly implies, that the Popish Clergy must be put in possession of *nine tenths* of the Church property of Ireland!

He demands that Papists shall be eligible to the offices of Trinity College Dublin, the single Protestant College, in proportion to their numbers. That is, that they shall have it all to themselves; for an establishment for the education of the Protestant Clergy, with nine out of ten of its teachers Papists, is an obvious absurdity. He then comes to the government, and demands that the offices of Lord Lieutenant, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Privy Counsellors, Chancellor, Attorney General, &c. &c. shall all be shared in *proportion* to numbers; or as nine to ten, or in other words, that *all* offices shall be Popish.

In default of all which salutary reforms, the author returns to his *carte du pays*, and marks out the warlike advantages of the "Faith," whenever it may please to turn from argument to the simpler discussion of the sword!

The printer of the "Statement" was prose-

cuted by the Attorney General; for the author would not avow himself. The Jury found it to be a "*false, seditious and malicious libel* against the King's government in Ireland." The Chief Justice Downes, declared that it was a MOST ATROCIOUS LIBEL. Yet *this* was the very work which the Papist ambassadors, Drs. Murray and Milner, a year after, carried with them to Rome for presentation, doubtless as a favourite statement of Popery and its projects, to the Papal Prelate, Cardinal Albea, president of the College of Propaganda, which holds the *government* of the Irish Papist Church.

In their account of the mission, the Cardinal is represented as being so much charmed with it, as to have "*nearly committed it to memory.*"

In a second rescript, Dr. Murray mentions his having ascertained that Cardinal Litta "who is an adept in the English language, has read the 'Statement of the penal Laws' with *great pleasure and instruction!*"

Dr. Murray was coadjutor to Dr. Troy, the Popish Archbishop of Dublin, and this letter containing the happy reception of a volume, declared by Judge and Jury to be "a most atrocious and seditious libel on the King's government," was read by the Popish Archbishop himself, to a convocation of a hundred

and fifty of his Priests, and, of course, as it was read with good will, was received as law by the worshippers of infallibility !

The second authority which I shall state, is Dr. Dromgole, a Popish physician, a man of ability, perfectly acquainted with the tenets and purposes of his faith in Ireland, a member of the "Catholic Board," and so long as he continued to be a speaker, decidedly the *most* popular and influential man at the Board.

The "Relief Bill," as it was called, introduced by Mr. Grattan, in 1813, contained some of those provisions for preventing the inimical interference of the Popish clergy with the Protestant establishment, which are called "securities;" which are indubitably necessary, and which their parliamentary advocates declared, that the Papists were perfectly willing to give ; but, what says the Doctor, the honest and candid deliverer of the *real* sentiments of his Church ?

" NO OATH, containing what is called a SECURITY can be taken by a conscientious clergyman !"

He further states, that it is his wish that " this Catholic opinion should be *distinctly* *avowed* ; by which *no* pretence should be left for *Parliamentary interference* !"

"No layman, no Protestant, but, above all, no *Protestant Parliament*, as at present, or in whatever way constituted, ought to be allowed profanely to *meddle* in the administration of your Church."

"That right belongs to **ANOTHER AUTHORITY**! where it was placed at the birth of Christianity, and where only it can safely rest, or be legitimately exercised!"

He proceeds: "Let us show that the *anger* which we expressed against those of our body, who only *seemed to favour* those *securities*, was something more than words; that our opposition to the late Bill was founded upon *principle*!"

This popular authority thus gives us the opinion of his party on the "oath of allegiance."

"Which of you that recollects his feelings, when taking our present Catholic oath of allegiance, does not think *that sufficiently galling and insulting*, or can, *with patience*, anticipate any farther multiplication of *such oaths*!"

"Is it not a matter of surprise that *any Catholic*, instead of anticipating *new oaths*, should not rather speak of the **REPEAL** of this, which is *so insulting and so revolting*."

He then proponnds, that many men have hazarded their property, rather than take the

oath; and those men he holds up to public admiration, as “*high and proud minds*, consulting the *honesty* of their feelings, and encountering ruin rather than submit to the degradation and *humiliation* which it is calculated to inflict!” The degradation and humiliation of swearing obedience to the King and the laws! And this Speech was received with boundless approbation by the “Catholic Board,” printed and sent through every branch of their commonwealth, and received as law! Who, then, shall talk of pledging such men by Securities for the safety of the Protestant constitution, church, or throne!

But this speaker is still more explicit, if that be possible.

“If the Church of England *trembles for its safety*, it must seek it elsewhere. WE have no SECURITIES to give!”

He then proceeds to say, that she stands in imminent hazard, and gives a sketch of her sects, whom he describes as bands of “associated enthusiasts, furious tribes, and religious warriors!” And last, and most determined and formidable of all her enemies, are,—What? “THE COLUMNS OF CATHOLICITY, who *challenge the possession* of her *ark*, and unfurling the ORIFLAMME, (the French standard, and signal

that no quarter was to be given,) display its glorious motto, Εὐ τῆς ω νικᾷ."

He then advances to prophecy the ruin of the established Church. "*If,*" as he contemptuously says, "it be built on sand;" which he, of course, is ready, like all Papists, to pledge himself that it is, "in *vain* shall *Parliaments*, in *mockery* of Omnipotence, declare that it is *permanent* and *inviolable*; in vain shall the *lazy churchman* cry from the sanctuary to the watchmen on the tower, that danger is at hand; *it shall FALL!* for it is human.—It shall fall, and *NOTHING* but the memory of the *MISCHIEFS* it has *created* shall *survive!*"

Is not this satisfactory to the advocates of the patience, humility, and good faith of Popery? The Speech proceeds in the pomp of prophecy.

"*Already* the marks of approaching *ruin* are upon it. *It has had its time upon earth!* and when the time of its dissolution arrives, shall Catholics be compelled by the sacred bond of an *oath*, to uphold a system which *they believe* will one day be *rejected* by the whole earth." Then comes the gist of the whole prediction: "Can they (the Papists) be induced to swear that they should oppose even the *present Protestants* of England, if, ceasing to be *truants*,

they thought fit to return to their ancient worship, and to have—A CATHOLIC KING and A CATHOLIC PARLIAMENT !”

Let this be glossed over, if it can ; or, if it cannot, let us hear no more of pledges to the security of the Protestant faith and constitution.

In a subsequent explanation of his speech, he reiterates the sentiment. “ He has dared to say, with an appearance of satisfaction, that the Church of England will *fall*, and that nothing but the memory of the mischiefs she has created, will survive. Well, this is his belief, and it is the BELIEF OF EVERY CATHOLIC IN THE WORLD.”

He then, after showing that in this sworn war against the Church of England, he includes *all the reformed Churches*, which he designates, in common, as the “ thousand sects which nestle under the name of Protestantism, and whose *spurious* and *dubious* generation scarcely retains the colour or shape of Christianity !” He proposes that the Church of England shall declare her submission and reconciliation to Rome, and by a *concordat* establish—
“ A RE-UNION BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND and the SPIRITUAL HEAD OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD !”

Was this language silenced at the moment,

as an outrage on the feelings of his Protestant countrymen, and the laws of the land? Not a voice was raised against it. We are told, in the report of the time, that the resolution passed with even the most prodigal applause. The whole assembly, and all the members of the Board, (some of whom he had lashed,) rose up, with the exception of two or three persons, and the whole hall was a tumult of clapping of hands, cheers, and all other marks of the strongest approbation. The speech was published, and received by the local meetings through the country as a Catholic oracle. At the Kilkenny aggregate meeting, one of the orators, a Priest, defined it to be "*Catholic, purely, precisely Catholic, necessary, principled, and called for;*" and a resolution of panegyric was unanimously carried.

Let Protestants remember, that the whole substance of this speech was a direct, and no doubt, a perfectly sincere declaration, that *whatever Security* the deputed agents of the Catholic question may promise, must be altogether a delusion,—a delusion too, against which they have been amply warned, and to which the manlier and honester portion of the Irish Papists, the men who, in fact, have the whole Priesthood, and, therefore, the whole

power, at their backs, have openly disdained to give *any sanction* whatever. Dr. Dromgole, on the strength of this resolute and candid speech, carried off, at a single grasp, all the laurels from his more temporizing rivals; and became instantly the *most influential* man among the Papists of Ireland!

We now come to Mr. O'Connell, a very able, and, as the people of this metropolis by this time know, a very indefatigable agent and deputy of the "Catholic Board." He has been about sixteen years occupied in his appeals to the people of Ireland on the subject of the Catholic question, and is altogether worthy of credence as a Papist authority. Of his opinions a vast number are on record, for his speeches have invariably made their way to the press.—There is no Popish light that has been less hid under a bushel!

A few quotations, however, will put us in possession of the spirit of the whole.

*Mr. O'Connell's Opinion of late and present
English Administrations.*

"Pitt's views amounted to *unqualified despotism!* The principle of Perceval's administration was *peculating bigotry, bigoted peculation!*"

“The principle of the present, (Lord Liverpool’s) administration, is *still more obvious*. It is simple and single, it consists in *falsehood*! *Falsehood* is the bond and link which connects this ministry in office. *Some* of them *pretend* to be our friends; you know *it is not true*. They are only our worse enemies, for their *hypocrisy*!”
(*Speech at Limerick.*)

Mr. O’Connell, too, treats of Securities, and that in the purest style of contempt.

“There remains another *delusion*; it is the darling *deception* of the ministry! It consists in *sanctions* and *securities*. The Catholics may be emancipated, say the ministers in public, but they must give *securities*.”

Yet Mr. O’Connell is now venturing to offer *securities*, and among those, the sweeping measure of pensioning his whole Priesthood, in the very face of their disdain of all Protestant interference; and the still more extraordinary and utterly novel, to say the least of it, *sacrifice* of the elective franchise of three-fourths of the Papist population.

His opinion of the English mind has been already mentioned; but let it be repeated, that we may have the “Beauties” of this advocate’s elocution, in one grouping.

England.

“ So *dishonest* and *besotted* a people as the English, never lived ; yes, *they are* dishonest and besotted ! As a nation, I must say, and *I can prove*, that they are *the most profligate*, and *quite lost* in folly ! As to English *stupidity*, it is really become quite proverbial. They are ready to sanction *every crime*, or to credit any delusion ; we enrich the *bigots* of England, and we leave our manufacturers starving ! Are there not, perhaps, hundreds that have been clothed in the fabric of those *dullest* of all *malignant bigots* ! Let us teach those *drawlers and dotards*, that they cannot insult us with impunity ! ” —
 (Aggregate Meeting, June, 1813.)

Having thus given his sentiments on English capacity ; which were, of course, intended to reconcile the Irish to the government and people of England, he gave his opinion of the Irish tribunals, in a speech followed by a resolution, “ for a petition to Parliament, calling the attention of the legislature to the *state* of the *judicial system* in Ireland, and praying for the Irish Catholics the benefit of that principle, which give to *aliens* a jury of one *half foreigners* ! ”

Papist Sincerity in soliciting Catholic Emancipation.

“ Ireland lay in torpor till *roused* by the call for religious liberty ; she would I *fear*, and am *convinced*, relapse into apathy, if *liberty of conscience* were *conceded* ! Let them delay emancipation but a little while, and they will find that they have roused the *sleeping lion* of Ireland to a waking activity which will not permit any slumber, till—IRELAND IS HERSELF AGAIN ! ”

The English Parliament.

“ It was not *true* that the Irish Catholics had experienced *any liberality* from the English Parliament. Was it the unremitted continuance of the present unjust and partial system of law, which, in despite of the first rights of humanity, punished men for being true to their conscience, and *would reward* them if they chose to become *hypocrites and perjurers* ! ”

“ There were recent instances of character which might put the British to the blush. There was America, possessing a constitution more *democratic* and more free ! possessing in all classes and religions, *real* liberty ; where the human mind was left uncontroled by the *impiety* of law ; where the press was *really free* ;

where the truth was no libel ; and where man *governed himself!*"

Here we have an un-feed opinion from this leader of the "Catholic Board," this lamp of law, by which his compatriots are to shine ; this promised and elected sower of the seeds of holy and politic regeneration in the soil trodden bare by the iron step of England. With him, DEMOCRACY is the true shape of freedom ! the press, the religion, the laws of America, are the model,—and for whom ? Let him answer this question as he may. But we are not left to long conjecture ; he has another portrait at hand ; he calls Ireland to look on America, flourishing in freedom, opulence, and constitutional purity : and this is a *democracy!* He then turns round upon his awakened hearer, and shows—a monarchy !

Look here upon this picture, and on this. "Does the world envy *her* national debt, *her* enormous taxation, *her* millions of paupers, *her* representation of rotten boroughs, *her* abject credulity. What is there in England for which an American should envy *her* ?"

— "Have you eyes !

Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed,

And batten on this moor !—*Ha, have you eyes !*"

I disdain to draw the conclusion.

Arrangements with the Popish Clergy.

“ I must distinctly and emphatically deny, that I was a party to any compact which could *directly or indirectly* tend to sanction *any alteration* by *Parliament* in their ecclesiastical concerns. I will *for ever* divide with the men who directly or indirectly consent to vetoism of *any description* !”

In the year 1821, Mr. O'Connell published two letters on the occasion of Mr. Plunkett's Bill of Emancipation, dated “ Limerick, on Circuit.”

In those hours snatched from the rapid and triumphant progress of his professional glories, he thus casts a reverted eye on the cares of his Church.

“ *As far as relates to the intercourse with Rome, the Bill requires every Priest to swear, ‘ that he will not have any correspondence or communication with the See of Rome, or with any authority under that See, tending directly or indirectly to overthrow or disturb the Protestant government, or the Protestant church of Great Britain and Ireland, or the Protestant church of Scotland, as by law established.’*”

“It is to this clause in Italics that I would peculiarly direct the attention of every *conscientious* Catholic layman, as well as of every *Priest* in Ireland.”

“The first question I will ask is,—will the Priests—*can the Priests take this oath*, without incurring a *direct breach* of their *duty*, and the immediate guilt of *perjury*? At present, it strikes my mind very strongly, that they *cannot take the oath at all*. As far as relates to the *Protestant Church*, it appears to interpose *frightful difficulties*.”

He tells us, that this intercourse of the Priest with Rome, is not imaginary, and indulges himself in detailing its pretexts.

“Man may be converted by the efficacy of prayer, by the force of preaching, &c. ; in short, by each and every of the functions of a Catholic Priest. But, with respect to those functions, he *must* be in *constant communication* with the See of Rome! he must hold *perpetual* intercourse with persons acting under her authority. If he take this oath, he must disclaim all communion with that See, and he will thereby cease to *belong* to that religion which has been clung to with an affectionate tenacity, &c. by the people of Ireland! Mr. Plunkett’s new *fangled oath* will be treated with great contempt by a pa-

tient, long-suffering, and insulted people. Yes, both people and priesthood are *insulted* by this *disgusting* oath."

But why, in common sense, cannot a Papist say his prayers and preach his sermons, or proselyte his neighbours, without *keeping* up a correspondence with Rome. Or, is it not palpable that this correspondence may be made a cloak for any traitorous intercourse with any foreign enemy favoured by Rome?

"Our Clergy will *scout*, with *prompt and charitable contempt*, this fresh attempt to trample under foot our inextinguishable religion. They *never will submit*. Let the dungeon and scaffold be prepared! They will *never* submit to *falsehood, prevarication, or perjury!*"

Mr. O'Connell's Opinions of Mr. Plunkett.

"I did not think he had *acuteness* enough to form so complete a *snare* for the Catholic religion.

"I still cannot give Mr. Plunkett credit for the *extreme fitness* of his '*infernal machine*,' as the French would call it; I think he must have been aided by some personage *still more ingenious* than himself, and of *deep malignity!*"

A note should have been added, to tell us,

whether this super-eminently ingenious and malignant personage was courteously meant to imply "Mr. Canning," or that regular subterranean author of infernal machines, to whom the Pope imputes our Bible.

"Come forward, Mr. Plunkett, you who *presume* with your double recital—

"It was scarcely decent in you, the *apparent* advocate of the Catholics, to inflict ridicule, and even *ribaldry*, on our doctrine of the real presence—

"This *out-heroding* of Herod belongs to Mr. Plunkett! Let him have the sole and exclusive honour of it, especially as he has invented it in the capacity of our *advocate*!"

"Mr. Plunkett's Bill is an *impudent* Veto; I will not call it less; it is an *audacious attempt* to place all the Catholic Clergy of Ireland under the *worst species* of ministerial controul, and also to leave them at the mercy of every *malignant Orange* informer!"

"The *minuteness* of his *dislike* to the Catholic Church, has induced him to go beyond every

former attempt, and he will soon be *discontented*, if he cannot extend *severity* and *punishment* to the most humble orders of our clergy."

" Mr. Plunkett may make *martyrs* of them, but he never will succeed in making them either *perjurers* or *traitors to their God*!"

(*Letters to the Catholics of Ireland.—Passim.*)

Yet Mr. O'Connell, with those words glowing from his pen and his lips, turns round, with a fond conversion, more expeditious than a lover's quarrel, or a miracle of Prince Hohenlohe, and flings himself into Mr. Plunkett's arms; abandons his anger and his allegiance together, and "ere those shoes were old," in which he followed his poor Church's body, rushes into ardent alliance with its notorious slayer. Mr. Plunkett, has received his advances with no repulsive frown; and we now have the curious exhibition of two learned personages, one of whom would, with Mr. Plunkett's good-will, have been at this time looking through the bars of an Irish dungeon, and the other, with Mr. O'Connell's, would have been devoted to the tender mercies of a Popish Church; involved in an amity as tender, as is possible between a

silk gown and a stuff one. Mr. Plunkett, clever as he is, will certainly have the worst of it in this *embrassade* *.

What then must be the answer of all men, who are not determined to be deceived, when the Popish advocates come forward to offer Securities, "We cannot believe that you are in earnest—we find you pledged by name to the refusal of all pledges for our safety—We find you calling down vengeance on your friends, who before ventured to offer securities in the House.—Your Clergy have declared, in the most violent and passionate language, that they will suffer no interference, even of the most trivial kind, no common and lawful prevention of obvious public mischief, such as is allowed by every other denomination of faith in the empire, and such as is demonstratively essential to prevent foreign treason, and domestic conspiracy within the borders of the realm.—In their speeches and pamphlets they denounce this simple and general obligation, as a device

- * " Thus, when a collier and a barber meet,
The collier black, the barber smugly neat ;
Old foes, new friends, in spite of ancient spite,
The thoughtless barber hugs the collier white ;
The cunning collier gives him smack for smack,
Shakes out his bag, and hugs the barber *black*."

of Satan; from their altars they invoke the angry spirit of their flocks against it, and ostentatiously demand to be led to the prison and the scaffold, rather than submit, to "vetoism of *any* description." But all restrictive, provident authority of the legislature must be some description of vetoism.—

"But your two present Securities are still more impolitic and obnoxious than all those that have been hitherto torn out of your hands and ground in the dust under the heel of priest and populace. First, the pensioning of your Clergy, which they must look upon as a trap for their simplicity, a mere state contrivance to separate them from the people. Thus, you rouse the passions of the one class. Next, the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders. Thus, you rouse the passions of the other.

"You bind your Clergy and your people in an interest to which the past, strong as it was, was but straw and stubble; you *weld* their confederacy by real insult and real injury *."

* Sir Francis Burdett has now withdrawn those offers, obviously in consequence of the outcry already raised against them. They, however, have been made; which shews that those who made them either desired to hoodwink the English Parliament, or knew nothing of the Irish Papists. Let them choose their alternative.

If this proposition had come from a man of suspected principles, it would have been impossible to doubt that that man contemplated great civil disturbance; that he had his eye fixed upon the train of the mighty mine upon which stands, in heaven knows what hazardous security, the whole constitutional grandeur and ancient legislative nobleness of our state; and that he was waiting only for the first breath of party to kindle his torch into flame.

SKETCH OF THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

THE Popish Church in Ireland is an anomaly in government.—A powerful, reserved, haughty body, holding an immense, ignorant, bold, superstitious multitude chained at its heels, stands in the heart of the empire. It refuses allegiance to the King, and gives it to a stranger; it claims independence, and acts with the functions and forms of an independent power, holding its synods and assemblies at its will, sending and receiving ambassadors, and keeping up a constant public diplomatic intercourse with the continent through Rome*.

The Pope may send into the bosom of Ireland as many emissaries as the shifting practices of

* Drs. Murray and Milner were sent in 1814 to Rome *formally* as ambassadors from the Priesthood.

Mr. O'Connell in 1814, moved in the Catholic Association, that an ambassador "should be sent to the Pope, to give his holiness *correct information* respecting the Roman Catholics."

See Mr. O'Gorman's motion, July 1813, for sending an ambassador to the Spanish Cortes to demand their interference on account of "the *enslaved* and *depressed* state of their fellow Catholics in Ireland."

an Italian court, or the hostile interests of his immediate protectors may demand ; he may flood Ireland with agents and conspirators, in the pay of France, Austria, Italy and Spain !

If he would not startle the invidious vigilance of an alien act, he has a thousand Irish Priests wandering about the Vatican, who would rejoice to have "their qualities tasked to do his bidding" in Ireland, and whom we could no more keep out, than we could the wind that brought them. A band of Jesuits, the concentrated spirit of the blackest and most poisonous stuff of superstition, have been already consigned, and let loose on the land ; and the commodity is not yet exhausted in the great warehouse of holy wrath at Rome.

Can those things be forgotten, when we see Popery advancing to the gates of our Parliament and demanding to be let in. Shall we suffer it to march through those portals of the constitution, with spread ensigns, and in the undiminished pride of holy victory, with the banner of St. Dominic, and the sword of St. Bartholomew ; or shall we not compel it to disarm before its approach, and require from it the common oath of all, to the safety of the commonwealth ?

But, we are told by the Popish Advocates, that if we refuse the "Catholic claims we shall have a rebellion." We shall have *no* rebellion.

Among all the tumults of Ireland for the last hundred years, the Popish claims have stirred no rebellion. I throw out of the narrative the five hundred preceding years, that figure in the speeches of the Popish orators, a period when the country was covered with native bloodshed and barbarism, when fierce Irish passions and fiercer Irish superstition overwhelmed all public hope, and the only quiet was the quiet of the wilderness and the grave. In those feuds all was popery; monks and legates raised the banner, the Desmonds slaughtered the Geraldines, and the Geraldines revenged the slaughter, with the same consecrated Roman sword*. But those are scenes and times in which experience can gather no fruit of wisdom; a great morass of history, in which truth can scarcely find a spot firm enough for the tread of her foot.

The first disturbance in Ireland in the last century, was that of the "Whiteboys," who

* Ireland was not reduced to Popery until the year 1152, in the popedom of Eugenius. The ritual had been previously Greek. Ireland was given by a Bull of Pope Adrian to Henry the 2nd. See "*The Bishop of St. David's Tracts.*"

commenced their riots in the South, in 1759. Those were Papists, because the whole population of the South was Papist. But their demands were not the "Catholic claims." They uniformly declared that the causes of their rising were poverty, the enclosure of the commons on which they had been accustomed to feed their cattle, the severity of tithe proctors, and the exactions of the Popish Priests, in the shape of fees. This peasant tumult was exaggerated abroad into rebellion, and some agents of the Pretender were sent among them. But after a long and wasteful continuance it died away.

The next disturbance was that of the "*Defenders* and *Peep o'day boys*," in the North of Ireland, in 1784. This arose from a quarrel between two peasants, presbyterians; the beaten man vowed vengeance against a Papist who had given some assistance to his opponent, and the vengeance was speedily extended from the parties to their relatives, and from these to a large district of both persuasions. The Papists took the title of "*defenders*," probably as being the injured party; the Presbyterians called themselves "*peep o'day boys*" from making their aggressions at an early hour. Law was lenient or careless, and much mischief was

done. But with this tumult "Catholic claims" had no connection.

The reign of his late Majesty was altogether one of conciliation. The penal laws had been enacted against the Papists, as the soldiers and partizans of the exiled family, not as religionists, but as rebels. The decline of that family enabled the King to give way to the natural impulses of his generous and Christian spirit, and the 13th and 14th of Geo. III. cap. 35 were enacted, enabling the Papists to take the oath of allegiance.

This system was continued, and by the 17th and 18th of Geo. III. cap. 49., they were allowed to take leases of land for 999 years.

The Act of 1782, in the debates on which Mr. Grattan first took a share in this question, gave the Papists the full purchase, &c. of landed property; put an end to the disabilities relative to education; gave the unrestrained exercise of their religion, and placed them in a rank of privileges to which no Protestant was ever admitted under a Popish government*. This was carried without difficulty in the Irish Parliament, was considered as the regular

* France under Napoleon was a subsequent exception, but Napoleon prided himself on doing every thing in opposition to the old system. Besides, a Jacobin to the last, his equality of religions was an equality of contempt.

consequence of the previous system of the Cabinet, and laid the question asleep for a long train of busy years.

From 1782 until 1792 no mention was made of this question. The House was occupied about things of general and substantial interest to the country; the settlement of the constitution of 1782, the extension of trade, Orde's propositions, Revenue, pension bills, the regency, &c. &c. Even the angry spirit raised by the perpetual discussion on the subject closest to religious disabilities, Tithes, had no power to summon up with it the "Catholic question." Ireland seemed to have entered upon a period of long and cloudless prosperity.

But the nature of man is restless; and of all men, orators are the least disposed to comprehend the advantages of public tranquillity. Time too works its changes, and the race of the founders of her Constitution, her great landholders and accomplished gentlemen, educated in the institute and learning of rational English freedom, were gradually passing away. A new succession filled their seats, and of those the chief part were lawyers. Of all plagues, a lawyer who has to make his bread by his politics, is the most formidable to the founder of a constitution, and the dearest to its subverter. Those new faces entered almost uniformly on the side

of opposition. Their business was to provide for themselves; and this was to be done only by wearying government into their purchase, or by making themselves important in the public eye, by public agitation.

Yet bad as the Irish parliamentary barristers were, they might have been worse, they might have been petulant and low-minded abusers of every thing honourable, manly, and sacred in the country, prostrate sycophants of the rabble, venomous insulters of their King, anonymous libellers in profligate Reviews, the abettors of every wretched subject of mob sympathy, and, to make their degradation more complete and contemptible, they might have been doing all this directly in bitterness for the loss of some paltry, professional dole, ridiculous in every eye but that of their own starveling ambition.

Such men stand before the public expressly for "hire and sale." Even their violence is only a trick, a forced caper of the mart, for the eye of the buyer; they will be sold, if they can find a purchaser; and their transfer will excite no more surprise in the public, than that of a horse that comes into the fair with a halter round his neck.

The lawyers in the Irish House applied themselves to their legitimate labour of griev-

ances. The "Catholic Claims" was a huge quiet fallow, unturned for ten years. They ran their plough through it, and it soon produced a crop to their mind.

Grattan, a great and venerable name! who had been resting in secure national admiration, and enjoying the noble and finished work of his own hands in the Irish Constitution, suddenly found himself surrounded by a host of rash and violent competitors for popularity. It would have been wiser and loftier in that great mind to have disdained the competition, but he was determined to be still a leader, and in an evil hour he hoisted the banner of the "Catholic Claims."

But, whatever were his politics, he had long formed a decided opinion upon Popery. In his memorable speech on Tithes, July 14, 1788, he gives this powerful description.

"This light (the light of Apostolic Christianity) was soon put down by its own ministers, and on its extinction a beastly and pompous priesthood ascended. Political potentates, not Christian pastors, full of false zeal, full of worldly pride, and full of gluttony, empty of the true religion. To their flock oppressive, to their inferior Clergy brutal, to their King abject, and to their God impudent

and familiar; they stood on the Altar as a stepping stool to the throne; glozing in the ear of princes, whom they poisoned with crooked principles and heated advice; and were a faction against their King, when they were not his slaves.

“ Their power went down, it burst of its own plethory, when a poor Reformer, with the Gospel in his hand, and with the inspired Spirit of poverty, RESTORED the Christian religion.”

To the man who could speak this language, there was no delusion in Popery. There was perhaps none to any of its parliamentary advocates. But it was a showy and fertile topic for the jejuneness of the young orators. It dealt in lofty amplification, “ millions of suffering fellow-men,” and the “ rattling chains of six hundred years!” The orator was never in want of magnificent sorrow, and picturesque libel. The darkness of Irish history, the common history of clanship and superstition, was, like other darkness, a source of the sublime, and the falsest and most appalling charges were advanced under cover of this cloud of night and blood.

From this time “ Catholic Bills” became a regular business, pressed upon Parliament in one shape or other, from session to session. A

formal Bill was brought in, in 1792 *. Another in 1793, and another in 1795.

Grattan has been called a traitor, but it is as Milton has been called a rebel. They were both betrayed by the simplicity and the grandeur of their imaginations. But while Grattan stood gazing on the political clouds as they began to roll from France over Ireland, and imaging in their volumes only shapes of splendour and beauty, the tempest thickened and came down round him in a moment.

The common revolutionary influence of the time had spread rapidly in the North of Ireland. Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young barrister, discontented with the tardy success of his pro-

* On this occasion a curious circumstance occurred. Mr. Richard Burke, the son of the celebrated Edmund Burke, and presumed framer of the Bill, giddily walked into the House to converse with one of the members. This of course gave offence, and there was a cry for the Serjeant-at-arms to take him into custody. He however suddenly retired. Mr. Toler, (now Lord Norbury) then gave a specimen of that ready pleasantry for which he has been since so famed. In the course of a speech, in which he declaimed against the Bill, he said that the event which had excited the displeasure of the House, reminded him of a cross reading that he had lately seen in a London Newspaper, "*This day a most violent petition was presented to the House of Commons,—but it luckily missed fire, and the villains made off.*" This restored the House to good-humour.

fession, poor, and fully inoculated with French principles, projected a general insurrection, separation, and republican revolution in Ireland. In 1791, he had arranged the details of his plan, formed a correspondence with the French Republic, had received Ribaud de St. Etienne its secret envoy, and had founded the united Irishmen clubs of Dublin and Belfast.

This was wholly a conspiracy among the lower order of nominal Protestants, founded by an Atheist, and unconnected with Popish passions or Popish claims. But no military revolution could be established, from which the strength of three-fourths of the nation was excluded; and Tone laboured with all his ingenuity to enlist at least the name of Catholic on his side, if he could not obtain the actual support of the body.

Since the year 1757 there had been in Dublin a small occasional meeting of Papist gentlemen, encouraged, by the obvious good will of government to the general relaxation of the penal laws, to state their case and hold intercourse with their friends in Parliament. Their Lords and chief gentlemen soon joined it, and taking the lead, conducted their business with loyalty and decorum. Lords Kenmare, and Fingal, and Sir Patrick Bellew headed the committee; but in 1792, notorious revolution-

ists made their way among them, and the respectable leaders, with nearly sixty others of distinction, instantly withdrew. Lord Fingal having been riotously voted out of the chair, it was taken by a Mr. Braughal, an open revolutionist, who was afterwards seized as a traitor, but died before trial.

Of this club, which was French, not Irish *, and for revolution, not for the "Catholic Claims," Tone easily contrived to be made one of the three secretaries. To put the object of this Jacobin Club out of all doubt, Tone published on the 1st of August, 1791, his views, under the affected title of "*An Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland.*" And what was this argument? A demand for a total *separation* from England! No Catholic Claims, no additional privileges, no admission to the legislature; but the demand "of an *army, a navy, ambassadors, and a national government!*" He declares that "nothing exacerbates his mind so much as the denial to *any* country of the pos-

* Dr. M'Kenna, a papist and a zealous writer on the side of the "Catholic Claims," describes this reformed committee as "a ridiculous cabal of men ambitious of rule, without abilities to regulate; who, actuated by vanity and jealousy, endeavour to estrange the men of rank, the natural leaders; and deserving of the *execration* of their body."

sibility of *independent* existence." He declares, that "when the time comes, as *infallibly* it must, we shall be found as *competent* to *our own government*, regulation, and *defence* as any state in Europe." He includes the misfortunes of Ireland under two general heads, and of those he names the first, "*a foreign government*." For this work the Dublin Insurrectionary Club voted him £1500!

The Papist body had so little to do with this, that the three most important agitators in the committee were sent through the north of Ireland to stimulate them into countenancing the committee. Mr. Keogh gives the following, among other statements.

"We were charged with an attempt to raise the standard of rebellion. The Catholic nobility *pledged* themselves not only *not to join* us, but to prevent the assembling of the CONVENTION;" (auspicious name in 1792.) "They remained *unmoved*, apparently *unaffected*; this *obstacle* was to be *overcome*; or the hopes of the Catholics were *blasted for ever*. I again came forward, and went through the four provinces, accompanied by my *lamented friend*, J. W. Tone. In my journey to Connaught, I was attended by *my dear and much lamented friend*, Mr. T. Braughal!" These two

dear friends and *fellow missionaries*, were two traitors, and with this confession on his lips, the Catholic Committee voted, with unanimous acclamation on the 13th of July, 1810. "The thanks of the Catholics of Ireland, are eminently due to John Keogh, Esq. for his long, faithful, and unparalleled *services* to the cause of Irish Catholic Emancipation!" It is the most unexpected circumstance of the whole, that this monstrous vote should have been moved by Mr. O'Connell!

Thus the Papists in the north were not roused to revolution by the "Claims;" neither were the Papists in the south. Even so late as 1796, when the French fleet came to Bantry Bay; the peasantry assisted the King's troops throughout the march; and on the examination of the Irish conspirators before the committee of the Lords, in 1798, they assigned as the reason, that they had not *taken measures* to stir up the Papists in that quarter. On being questioned as to the influence which the "Catholic Claims" might have had in the insurrection, they declared, that it was "not worth the drop of ink that wrote the words."

Thus, tithes, sectarian quarrels, and jacobinism, have raised tumults in Ireland; the "Catholic Claims" NONE. What was not done

in the day of England's struggle against the whole of Europe, will not be done in the day of her peace and power. There is no subject on which she may consult her own gentle and benevolent wisdom with more security than the "Catholic Claims."

The subject spreads before me, but I must conclude, and hasten over in a few pages, what might worthily make the matter of volumes.

It is a good political maxim, "to let things alone when they are well." The Popish Priesthood have not complained; and they are the only body in Ireland whose complaints ought to disturb us. They hold the whole Popish peasantry in the hollow of their palm; the people are but the dust under the wheels of their pontifical chariot, and we should beware how we set those sullen wheels rolling; the Priesthood could raise a rebellion, and put down a rebellion, by a wave of their hand; and so it will be, so long as the peasantry look up to them for remission of sins here and hereafter. This potent Priesthood are, to do them justice, quiet; they have taken no part, as a body, in the fooleries and fantastic operations of the Catholic Asso-

clation; they give their names to petitions, but they give nothing else; they have a loftier MASTER, and from none other will they receive command!

But we have one way to rouse them into fury, and that is, by tampering with their religion. The laymen who presume to act for them, are not to be depended on for their feelings. Mr. Grattan's Veto Bill was ushered in with eloquent promises that it would satisfy all Popish Ireland. It was, most fortunately, rejected by the firmness and wisdom of Parliament; for had it passed, this *conciliatory* measure would have set all Ireland at open war. The Priests denounced it in all their chapels, and declared that they would have resisted it even to the death!

Mr. Plunkett's Relief Bill was ushered in with the same promise of universal and rejoicing acceptance. It, too, was fortunately rejected, for the Priests again declared in their chapels, that they would resist it even to the death. If we had believed the Popish advocates then, we should have had a bloody rebellion!

They now come forward with a new modification of the Popish Church, a contrivance to

cut off the Pope's supremacy. Will we be mad enough to believe them? The Popish Priesthood will not suffer a tittle of their discipline or doctrine to be touched. Puncture a single nerve of their Church, and it throws the whole frame into spasms. The supremacy of the Pope is an article not simply of their law, but of their *faith*, an integral part of their religion. We might as well rend away their hearts; they will not give it up to the fraud of their deputies, nor to any force but that which extinguishes life and belief together.

If a man desired a Separation, or a rebellion which would leave Ireland not worth retaining, he could not effect his desire more fatally than by tempting us to tamper with the Popish Church.

As to political privileges, it has been the opinion of many to whose experience and intelligence I entirely bow, that every thing should be conceded, excepting *seats in Parliament*.

Silk gowns and sheriffs' maces are matters which tantalize the eyes of local ambition; and it seems difficult to conceive, that Mr. O'Connell, once in a silk gown, would unfold a knotty point of law with less happy familiarity; or that a Popish landlord would sit in the majesty of rustic

justice, on poaching and petty larceny, with less awful terrors on his brow, than a Protestant jurist or gentleman. But these distinctions, perhaps among the safest to give, are the most invidious to refuse; such as they are, they are perpetually present to the sufferer; individuals capable of being galled by such things, are galled every day; while Parliament is a remote distinction, a troublesome bustle once in seven years, and a troublesome expense in every year of the seven. The Englishman drives from his counting-house or from his villa, or simply, throws off his wig and gown, and walks from Westminster Hall to the House of Commons. The Irishman has to travel nearly a thousand miles, to cross two seas, and to spend six uncomfortable months before he reaches his house again. Parliament would be no boon to the rising barrister of Ireland, to the merchant, to the man of any profession, to the country gentleman of moderate fortune; that whole portion of Popish Ireland, to which its door might, with any show of safety, be opened, must be excluded by the necessities of situation.

But the Popish body would not long want representatives. Mr. O'Connell has told us, that "He remembers the wrongs that England has inflicted on his unhappy country, with a HA-

TRED doomed to be *immortal* and *unrelenting!*" (Let the graceful subtlety of his English interpreters refine this into affection.)

Doctor Milner has told us, with poetic fervour, "That you might as well attempt to pluck a beam from the sun, as to touch one fibre of the jurisdiction of that **AUTHORITY**, which claims the exclusive power of deciding in *all* matters relating to the faith and *discipline* of the Irish Church."

Mr. Charles Butler has told us, that "Indifference to the thirty-nine articles is *universal*, or, at best, *very general*, among those who profess themselves members of the Established Church," and asked, with an antiquated sneer, "Are the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement, seriously and *sincerely* believed by the great body of the English clergy *?"

* For this piece of coxcombry, he has been briefly, but spiritedly, rebuked, in a pamphlet by the Bishop of Chester. An elaborate answer to his feeble, "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," has been just given by Mr. Townsend.

Mr. Butler's volunteering in matters of this nature, is altogether without the good-will of his Church. They look upon him as a *meddler*, and Dr. Milner has taken him to task more than once, for going beyond his sphere. He has even

Mr. Keogh, the son of that very *active* member of the "Catholic Committee," who travelled through Ireland with Messrs. Braughal and Tone, has told us, in his "Letter to Lord Grenville on the Veto,"—"Catholic Emancipation, if an insulated measure, must be, in every point of view, *undesirable*! Taken by itself, it means for Lord Fingal, a seat in Parliament, and for Mr. Bryan a troop of horse! To satisfy the people of Ireland, there must be means adopted which the poor man will feel in his cottage; there must be—A TOTAL CHANGE OF THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, there must be the ABOLITION OF TITHES! the ANNULLING of all CORPORATE BODIES! including the *University*! there must be the RESUMPTION of the

charged him with offence in his statement of the discipline and opinions of his own Church; "Fenelon's celebrated letter has been quoted by C. B. and long extracts from it published, concerning vulgar translations of the Scriptures, to the *entire misrepresentation of that prelate's declared judgment!*"

Mr. Butler also exults in the restoration of the *Jesuits*, which he asserts to have taken place with the *approbation of all good men*! An opponent, with an understanding loose and unjointed in this manner, and breaking itself down with a load of the mere refuse of history, is but little worth a contest; he must be looked upon, in the phrase of his favourite, Gibbon, "with a *sigh* or a *smile*."

enormous and misapplied revenues of the INTRUSIVE CHURCH !"

This is plain speaking, and it is from a man thoroughly "in the secret."

Mr. Keogh has further told us, lest this clear statement should not be clear enough ; that "if Irish Catholics usually regard the Protestants with an eye of hostility, it is *not* on account of their religious tenets,—the Catholic beholds in the Protestant, the offspring of a *face new* and INTRUSIVE in the island.—If he claims a right to oppose any religious ascendancy injurious to the great mass of the population, it is from his considering religion in a *political* view, as connected with the *ancient CIVIL RIGHTS of THE Irish people.*"

His peroration to the noble Lord, who has so long wasted his vigour of speech upon Popish securities, is at once easy and illustrative. "And, really, my Lord Grenville, do *you figure to yourself any fellow-feeling of my Lord Fingal about the increased security of your religion ? Can England entertain the absurd notion of exciting the sympathy of Ireland in wishes for the inviolable maintenance of your religion !* Indeed, this is too GLARINGLY AB-SURD !"

It is to be presumed, that his Lordship's

habitual condescension was at once soothed and convinced by so confidential a return of familiarity.

By another gentleman, we are told, in a speech at an Aggregate Meeting in Galway : " Mr. Canning has told the House of Commons, that they should grant emancipation, in order to take the people out of our hands, in order to vex the agitators. With all my heart ! I strike the bargain on that condition. Let them give you emancipation, to vex us, and then, *perhaps some of us may find our way into that House to VEX THEM !*"

And the gentleman who said this, is a very acute and able person, extremely capable of making good his words.

By the Committee of the " Catholic Convention," appointed to make a formal statement of their demands, we are told, " They assert THE RIGHT of the Catholics to demand, not *only* the removal of all Parliamentary and official disabilities, but the *utter abolition* of ALL corporations ! the acknowledgment of the full and unlimited jurisdiction of their Church *over marriages !* the *unrestrained* exercise of her *power of excommunication !* the revival of her endowments and bequests, and a befitting share of the public revenues for her ancient and un-

broken hierarchy, a hierarchy not belonging to a *sect* in the nation; but to THE PEOPLE of Ireland, claiming, as a nation, the ESTABLISHMENT of its NATIONAL WORSHIP!"

What other answer can be required to the advocates of the "Catholic Claims," in Parliament, than those proofs that they do not *understand the feeling* of the Papist body, that they are the good-natured dupes of the agitators, and that the first return for the services of the most generous and most gifted among them, would be bitterness, and systematic, perfidious vexation.

These men, whose extravagant and furious harangues we have quoted, *could not* be kept out! And to what a train at their heels would they not hold the gates open. Representatives chosen by suffrage of a passionate Popish mob, exulting in their new power, and maddened by ancient hate of the Protestant religion, and revived hate against the Protestant people—Westminster out-Westminstered in every village! What should hinder the Pope, who can make an Irish Bishop, from making an Irish representative, and introducing his *direct* traitorous agents, or those of any of his allies, into the Legislature? What should hinder the latent and ill-extinguished fury of Irish

revolution, or the low and malignant acrimony of disappointed Jacobinism among ourselves, to make its way in that train?—We should certainly have the livid *Caitiff*, who thus writes in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*. “An *Established Church* can boast of no *higher or more respectable origin* than a *Custom-house*!”

It is mere *drivelling* to suppose that government has not a *right* to regulate their *salaries*, or *dismiss them altogether*!

“Government would be just as liable to the charge of injustice, or of invading their rights of property, as when it pays off a *line-of-battle ship*, or reduces the *wages of its seamen*.” This Jacobin has published his placard already; he would be at the head of the poll.

The effects of this measure on the English constitution might be of the most formidable kind. Of the hundred Irish members of the House of Commons, sixty-four are for counties, a completely popular election. The members now chosen are country gentlemen, who retain their seats chiefly as family distinctions, and who without much ambition or effort in the House, generally spend a very uncomfortable and reluctant six months' exile from their farming and fox-hunting.

If the Popish Priesthood chose to hold up

their finger, not one of those gentlemen could come in. The peasantry dare not refuse the mandate of their "Lords," who keep the keys of hell and heaven. The Protestant landlord might try force, and expel his refractory tenant; the tenant would summon his brethren of the faith, and burn his landlord's house and its master in it. They have done this already, and they would do it again. If the Priesthood had the hope of parliamentary power, for all else they rightly disdain, they would lift up their finger. This would be repelled by the government, and the repulsion would be retaliated by the people. Are we prepared to plunge Ireland into a civil war?

What *must* be the conduct of the representatives returned under such influence? They must feel that the tenure by which their seats were held was unqualified submission, eager zeal, vehement and reckless devotedness to the priestly cause. There would probably not be half a dozen of the sober and respectable class of Papists among them; the men fitted for this riotous canvass, would be persons who had nothing to leave behind them, and every thing to seek here, renowned by their earlier displays as agitators, haranguers of aggregate meetings, and habitual haters of the constitution in Church

and State, a generation of Popish radicalism, whose meat and drink was popular inflammation. Their natural propensities would be scarcely more temperate when they were transported from the meagre diet of an Irish mob-meeting to the rich and varied stimulants of the revolutionary palate in England. If these members were but half of sixty-four, they would still form a phalanx, a disciplined, compact body, with but one object, moving by a single command, and on whichever side of the House they moved, an object of eminent public interest and alarm. The Swiss of the House, they would fight only for their pay, and whichever side paid highest would have them. A falling minister, guilty enough to betray the constitution to save himself, would offer a boon of the overthrow of the corporations, a zealous opposition would outbid him by the overthrow of the Protestant Universities; Appeals to mob politics and passions would thicken; and in that political frenzy which makes men forget alike country and conscience, parties would cut and carve, bribe and infuriate, till the constitution was torn into fragments and flung away.

It was thus in the Irish Parliament. There was a childish and unhappy emulation to pur-

chase the favour of the Papists. From one concession through fear, to another concession through feeble good-nature, the elective franchise was at length fiercely demanded. In an hour big with the fates of the Parliament it was madly conceded; and in that hour, the shroud of that rash and suicidal Parliament was woven! In that hour, an eye not clouded by the drunkenness of party might have seen the hand come forth, and write upon the wall of that feast of folly, that its kingdom was weighed, divided and departed for ever!

The Union was the sad, but absolutely necessary, consequence of giving the elective franchise to the Papist peasantry. Every member thenceforth came into the House pledged to the Papist demands; rash concessions were crowding on each other; the Parliament must have become Papist, and the land a separate, revolutionary Papist kingdom; again to be made a field of battle for strangers and friends, till rebellion was put out in its own blood, and Ireland, from having been the free subject of England in her benevolence, was become the slave of England in her jealous vigilance, her stern contempt, and her massive and iron power.

Is there any wisdom in running those tre-

mendous hazards ! And for what trivial alarm ? the “ Catholic rent,” ten thousand pounds, the magnificent tribute of the whole purse of pious disaffection in Ireland ! Mr. O’Connell’s committee have been charged with raising even this sum by *menace*, with keeping a *black-book* for the non-contributors. This Mr. O’Connell has ventured to deny with indignant oratory. But let him read the following “ PLAN FOR PAROCHIAL SUBSCRIPTION.”

1. To appoint a person in every parish to make individual application to *every householder*.

2. This person shall take with him, to each village or farm, a list of the householders, and shall apply to each of them, to know whether he is willing to contribute *ten-pence*, or any *higher sum*, towards defraying the expense of the *Catholic petitions* !

3. Each person paying shall be marked down as paid, and the sum inserted in the margin.

4. Each person refusing, shall have the words “ *refused to contribute ten-pence*” added to his name !

5. And a second application should be made to those who refuse, with an intimation that THE LIST WOULD BE READ AT THE CHAPEL ON THE ENSUING SUNDAY !

6. The list should be READ AT THE CHAPEL, as soon as it was ascertained that *no more* could be collected !

This mild "projet" for the Papist budget was, a few years since, actually transmitted through the country in the name of the Catholic committee, wrapped in an invigorating circular signed by *Mr. O'Connell himself* !

The circular was addressed to the Clergy, and contained this paragraph among others.

"You cannot do a *greater service* to the Catholic cause, than by *exerting yourself* on this occasion, as the *funds* of the Board are *quite exhausted*, and it will be impossible to transmit our petition to Parliament, unless subscriptions are collected !"

Of course Mr. O'Connell did this in honest zeal, hard driven for money ; and what he did honestly at one time, he may do as honestly at another.

He has now the same financial pilgrimage on foot, no less than three thousand collectors traversing Ireland, and it is but fair to suppose that the old menace of being held up to disgust and suspicion from the Altar ; a menace little short of excommunication ! is equally exerted on this new "journey in search of the rent." The sum expected to have been raised by the

original circular, was about 150,000*l*.! Thus the rent of 10,000*l*. is a "beggarly account of empty boxes," a miserable failure after all its travel, menace, and patriotism!

We deny that the Irish Papist priesthood, the only *true danger*, have given either their money or their influence to this petition. We deny that the Irish laity have given any thing beyond the most trifling portion of either; their names they have never refused to petitions, and will never refuse. We assert that the whole present tumult is the work of a few active disturbers in a corner of Dublin; regular traders in mob eloquence, shrunk from by the Popish aristocracy and prelacy, suspected and denounced by their own rank*, and on the whole utterly unworthy of parliamentary consideration. Who are the deputation? Mr. O'Connell! The solitary virtue of Mr. O'Connell! What man of political importance attends him? or has his pre-eminence repelled them; like the lion of the poet; has he

" Looked so grim,
His very *shadow* durst not follow him."

* See Mr. Lawless's letters to the *Courier*, in which he charges him distinctly with having undertaken the expedition from the simple motive of a *silk gown*. "*Tantæne animis coelestibus, &c.*"

Must we not see, with a suspicion and a smile, the whole of the Popish interests, the whole heaven of orthodoxy, flung on the shoulders of one strong-built King's Bench pleader? No successor of like muscle in prospect; no substitute at hand; if he leaves his task but for an hour, the whole topples, and, as we have just seen, he is forced to fly back, and thrust his panting bulk under it again!

Is the increase of Popery chimerical? Popery is at this hour labouring in every corner of England for *proselytism*! It is rapidly increasing. In 1778 there were but *three* Popish seminaries known in England; in 1819, there were upwards of *fifty*! In the middle of the last century, the whole number of Papists in England was, by the parliamentary return, but 67,000; in 1816, they were computed at 500,000! They have nearly a *thousand* chapels, almost all raised within these few years! In 1813, in Preston, Liverpool, and Manchester, there were confirmed above *three thousand* children! Twenty years ago the Jesuit priest at Preston could gather his whole congregation into a small room; he has now two chapels, holding two thousand each, and not holding all his community! The Jesuits have been about forty years settled at Stonyhurst; they take

pupils, whom they educate in their principles, and with the stern probationary formula of their old discipline. Many of those are sent through the country as priests. They have educated in this manner about *ten thousand* of their clergy and laity. On their first settlement in Lancashire, the surrounding district was entirely Protestant; it is now almost totally Papist. They have an estate of eleven hundred acres, which they farm; they will employ no labourer, dealer, or handicraftsman for their farm, or college, but a Papist. Interest and ignorance thus go together, and swell their lists. Their Papist population, ten years ago, was computed at fifteen thousand!

There are regular establishments of foreign orders in England, where English converts are diligently solicited, and where girls take the veil!

The Jesuits have a large establishment near Dublin; they are purchasing ground for others; emissaries have been openly sent to them from Rome, with which the whole body in England, as well as in Ireland, keep up a constant correspondence by particular agents. They all are bound "*to obey without questioning*" the commands of their "General." He *resides constantly* at Rome!

Can we rely on the oaths of the Papists? Not while a Pope can declare them null and void. The oath of supremacy they *cannot* take, nor can the Pope give them power to take it. It is a *part of their religion*, and beyond a dispensation! But they may take all other oaths, and he can abrogate them all. The Pope has declared, so late as 1809, by his "Instruction" to the Popish bishops, that they must distinguish between *passive* and *active* oaths! to any *heretical* state; and has pronounced, "That ALL OATHS, taken to the prejudice of the Church, ARE NULL AND VOID *!"

This Bill should be rejected. Government, that has already opened the army and navy, will, in its own good time, feel whether it cannot throw open other departments of public service. Before long, Lord Fingal himself may proudly rein his palfrey at the head of a judge's escort, and manœuvre his rural halberdiers to the delight of even Chief Justice Bushe's military eye. Mr. O'Connell too may be allowed to

"Cleanse his bosom of that perilous STUFF
That weighs upon his heart;"

* See the speech of that firm friend to the Constitution, Lord Colchester, (then speaker of the House of Commons,) May 14, 1813.

and all will be loyal smiles, pleasantries, and productive parchment again. *He will not rebel*; but if he should, let "execution be done on Cawdor;" let him be sent to the Irish kings, and—his bag let another take.

In the mean time Ireland will become from day to day more the object of a beneficent and enlightened attention on the part of this country. Some showers from the skirts of that marvellous opulence that is now rising like an exhalation from every crevice of England, and covering the soil with plenty and power, will, in the mere course of things, be scattered over Ireland. With opulence will come knowledge, and with knowledge will come the great mother and queen of all national strength, RELIGION; the mighty tamer of the ferocity of our nature; but feebly imaged by that ancient Cybele with her towered brow, and her chariot drawn by submissive lions.

But if the worse come, let us have the high consolation, that we have not wilfully erred; that we have not, in a childish impatience of importunity, betrayed the treasure of holiness and freedom committed to our hands; that we have not, in an unworthy fear, voluntarily abdicated the throne, on which England sits as the SOVEREIGN PROTECTOR OF PRO-

TESTANTISM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ! that we have not flung open to the torrent of impiety and folly, of revolution and superstition, the portals of that Temple, whose wall our fathers " built in troublous times," and where their sons still see the visible presence of God's glory ! But if trial should still come, let us take our stand, armed in a confiding faith, and look up to PROVIDENCE !

THE END.

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